

YOU CAN DECIDE TO BE  
APATHETIC AND COMPLACENT,  
AND HOPE FOR IT  
ALL TO COLLAPSE,  
OR  
YOU CAN DECIDE TO  
TAKE RESPONSIBILITY,  
AND FIGHT TO DESTROY  
THIS DEATH-MACHINE.

...EITHER WAY YOU WILL  
HAVE BLOOD ON YOUR HANDS,  
IT'S JUST A MATTER OF WHOSE.

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# GREEN ANARCHY

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PO Box 11331, Eugene, OR 97440 - [collective@greenanarchy.org](mailto:collective@greenanarchy.org)





# GLOBALIZATION AND ITS APOLOGISTS:

## AN ABOLITIONIST PERSPECTIVE

by John Zerzan

IN ITS HEYDAY IN THE AMERICAN SOUTH, SLAVERY NEVER LACKED for apologists. Writers, preachers, and planters chimed in to defend the peculiar institution as divinely ordained and justified by the racial superiority of whites over blacks. The Abolitionists, who burned the Constitution, hid fugitives, and attacked federal arsenals, were widely viewed as dangerous firebrands fit for prison or the gallows.

In hindsight, the word “slavery” connotes a world of oppression, violence, degradation, and resistance. The vile, deluded racism of slavery’s 19<sup>th</sup> century apologists is unmistakable from our 21<sup>st</sup> century viewpoint, but how many see our century’s version of slavery in a similarly revealing light?

In the name of progress, world development and empire are enslaving humankind and destroying nature, everywhere. The juggernaut known as globalization has absorbed nearly all opposition, overwhelming resistance by means of an implacable, universalizing system of capital and technology.<sup>1</sup> A sense of futility that approaches nihilism is now accepted as an inevitable response to modernity: “Whatever....” The poverty of theory is starkly illuminated in this fatalistic atmosphere. Academic bookshelves are loaded with tomes that counsel surrender and accommodation to new realities. Other enthusiasts have climbed onto the globalization bandwagon, or more commonly, were never not on board. From an abolitionist perspective, the response of most intellectuals to a growing planetary crisis consists of apologia in endless variations.

Patrick Brantlinger<sup>2</sup> suggests, for example, that in the “post-historical” age we have lost the ability to explain social change. But the reasons behind global change become evident to those who are willing to examine fundamental assumptions. The debasing of life in all spheres, now proceeding at a quickening pace, stems from the dynamics of civilization itself. Domestication of animals and plants, a process only 10,000 years old, has penetrated every square inch of the planet. The result is the elimination of individual and community autonomy and health, as well as the rampant, accelerating destruction of the natural world. Morris Berman, Jerry Mander, and other critics have described the “disenchantment” of a world subordinated to technological development. Civilization substitutes mediation for direct experience, distancing people from their natural surroundings and from each other. Ever greater anomie, dispersal, and loneliness pervade our lives. A parallel instrumentalism is at work in our ecosystems, transforming them into resources to be mined, and imperiling the entire biosphere.<sup>3</sup>

At base, globalization is nothing new. Division of labor, urbanization, conquest, dispossession, and diasporas have been part and parcel of the human condition since the beginning of civilization. Yet globalization takes the domesticating process to new levels. World capital now aims to exploit all available life; this is a defining and original trait of globalization. Early 20<sup>th</sup> century observers (Tönnies and Durkheim among them) noted the instability and fragmentation that necessarily accompanied modernization. These are only more evident in this current, quite possibly terminal stage. The project of integration through world control causes disintegration everywhere: more rootlessness, withdrawal, pointlessness... none of which have arrived overnight. The world system has become a high-tech imperialism. The new frontier is cyberspace. In the language of perennial empire, global powers issue their crusading, adventurous call to tame and colonize (or recolonize).<sup>4</sup>

Marshall McLuhan’s “global village” concept is back in vogue, albeit with a clonal tinge to it, as everyone is designated to be part of a single global society. One interdependent McWorld, kept alive by the standardized sadness of a draining consumerism. It should be no surprise that among those who speak in the name of “anti-globalization” there are actually a growing number who in fact oppose it, whose perspective is that of de-globalization, who realize that a far more thoroughgoing critique and vision is urgently needed.

The “global village,” subject to almost instantly worldwide epidemics<sup>5</sup>, has become a downright scary place. Since the 1980s the term “risk” has become pervasive in almost every discursive field or discipline in developed societies. The power of nation-states to “manage” risks has demonstrably declined, and individual anxiety has increased, with the spread of modernization and globalization.<sup>6</sup> This trajectory also brings growing disillusionment with representative government and a rising, if still largely inchoate, anti-modern orientation. These outlooks have strongly informed anti-authoritarian movements in recent years. There is a perceived hollowness, if not malevolence, to basic social institutions across the board. As Manuel Castells puts it, “we can perceive around the world an extraordinary feeling of uneasiness with the current process of technology-led change that threatens to generate a widespread backlash.”<sup>7</sup>

A technified world continues to proliferate, offering the promise of escape from the less and less attractive context of our lives. Hoping no-one realizes that technology is centrally responsible for impoverished reality, its hucksters spread countless enticements and

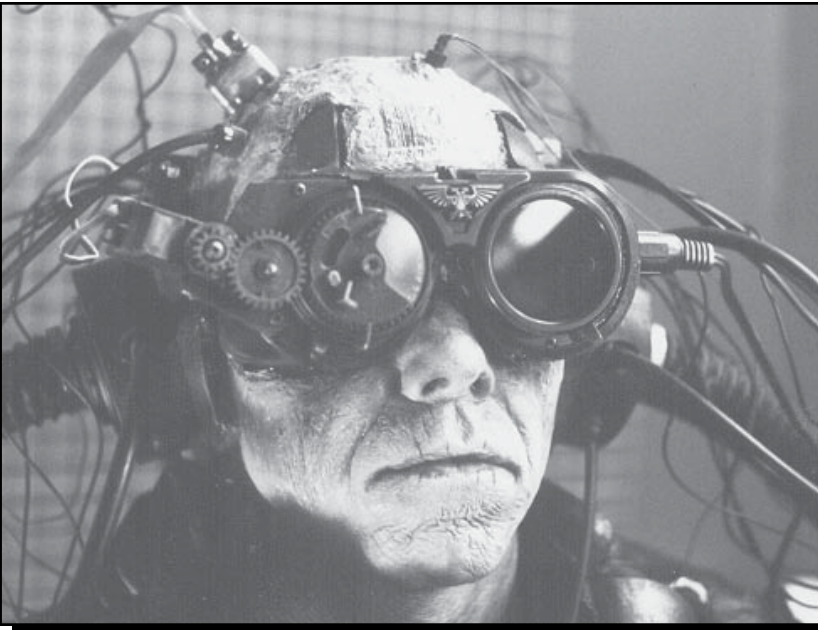
promises, while it continues to metastasize. Net/Web culture (a revealing nomenclature) is a prime example, extending its deprived version of social existence via virtual space. Now that embedded, face-to-face connectivity is being so resolutely annihilated, it’s time for virtual community.

According to Rob Shields’ chilling formulation, “the presence of absence is virtual.”<sup>8</sup> “Community” is unlike any other in human memory; no real people are present and no real communication takes place. In a convenient, disembodied virtual community, one shuts people off at the click of a mouse to “go” elsewhere. Pseudo-community moves forward on the ruins of what is left of actual connections. Senses and sensuality diminish apace;<sup>9</sup> “responsibility” is interred in the expanding postmodern Lost Words Museum. Shriveled opposition and fatalistic, resigned shirkers forget that anti-slavery abolitionists, once a tiny minority, refused to quit and eventually prevailed.

Certainly none of this has happened overnight. The AT&T telephone commercial/exhortation of some years back, “Reach out and touch someone,” offered human contact but concealed the truth that such technology has in fact been crucial in taking us ever further from that contact. Direct experience is replaced by mediation and simulation. Digitized information supplants the basis of actual closeness and possible trust among interacting physical beings. According to Boris Groys, “We just have to deal with the fact that we can no longer believe our eyes, our ears. Everyone who has worked with a computer knows that.”<sup>10</sup>

Globalization is likewise scarcely new on the economic and political scene. In the *Communist Manifesto* Marx and Engels predicted the emergence of a world market, based on growing production and consumption patterns of their day. The Spanish empire, 300 years earlier, was the first global power network.

Marx contended that every technology releases opposing possibilities of emancipation and domination. But somehow the project of a humanized technology has proven groundless and result-free; only technified humanity has come to pass. Technology is the embodiment of the social order it accompanies, and in its planetary advance transfers the fundamental ethos and values behind that technology. It never exists in a vacuum and is never value-neutral. Some alleged critics of technology speak, for example, of advancing “to a higher level of integration between humanity and nature.”<sup>11</sup> This “integration” cannot avoid echoing the integration that is basic to civilization and its globalization; namely, the cornerstone institutions that integrate all into themselves. Foremost among them is division of labor.



A state of growing passivity in everyday life is one of the most basic developments. Increasingly dependent—even infantilized—by a technological life-world, and under the ever-more complete effective control of specialized expertise, the fractionated subject is vitiated by division of labor. That most fundamental institution, which defines complexity and has driven domination forward *ab origino*. Source of all alienation, “the subdivision of labour is the assassination of a people.”<sup>12</sup> Adam Smith in the 18<sup>th</sup> century has perhaps never been excelled in his eloquent portrait of its mutilating, deforming, immiserating nature.<sup>13</sup>

It was the prerequisite for domestication,<sup>14</sup> and continues to be the motor of the Megamachine, to use Lewis Mumford’s term. Division of labor underlies the paradigmatic nature of modernity (technology) and its disastrous outcome.

Although the wind is shifting in some quarters, it’s somewhat baffling that theory has seldom put into question this institution (or domestication, for that matter). The latent desire for wholeness, simplicity, and the immediate or direct has been overwhelmingly dismissed as futile and/or irrelevant. “The task we now face is not to reject or turn away from complexity but to learn to live with it creatively,” advises Mark Taylor.<sup>15</sup> We must “resist any simple nostalgia,” counsels Katherine Hayles, while granting that “nightmare” may well describe what’s been showing up lately.<sup>16</sup>

In fact, even more confounding than lack of interest in the roots and motive force undergirding the present desolation is the fairly widespread embrace of the prospect of more of the same. How is it possible to imagine good outcomes from what is clearly generating the opposite, in every sphere of life? Instead of a hideously cyborgian program delivering emptiness and dehumanization on a huge scale, Hayles, for instance, finds in the posthuman an “exhilarating prospect” of “opening up new ways of thinking about what being human means,” while high-tech “systems evolve toward an open future marked by contingency and unpredictability.”<sup>17</sup>

What’s happening is that a “what we have lost” sensibility is being overwhelmed by a “what have we got to lose/try anything” orientation. This shift testifies profoundly to the depth of loss and defeat that civilization/patriarchy/industrialism/modernity has engineered. The magnitude of the surrender of these intellectuals has nullified their capacity for analysis or vision. For example, “Increasingly the question is not whether we will become post-human, for posthumanity is already here.”<sup>18</sup>

Technology as an injunction to forget, as a solvent of meaning,<sup>19</sup> finds its cultural voice in

postmodernism. Articulated in the context of transnationalism whereby globalization renders its totalizing nature glaringly evident, postmodernism pursues its refusal of “any notion of representable or essential totality.”<sup>20</sup> Helplessness reigns; there are no foundational places left from which to think about or resist the juggernaut. As Scott Lash states, “We can no longer step outside of the global communications flows to find a solid fulcrum for critique.”<sup>21</sup> His misnamed *Critique of Information* announces total abdication: “My argument in this book is that such critique is no longer possible. The global information order itself has, it seems to me, erased and swallowed up the possibility of a space of critical reflection.”<sup>22</sup>

With no ground from which to make judgments, the very viability of criteria dissolves; the postmodern thus becomes prey to every manner of preposterous and abject pronouncement. I. Bluhdorn, for example, simply waves the little matter of environmental catastrophe away: “To the extent that we manage to get used to (naturalize) the non-availability of universally valid normative standards, the ecological problem...simply dissolves.”<sup>23</sup> The cynical acceptance of every continuing horror, clothed in aesthetized irony and implicit apathy.

Downright bizarre is the incoherent celebration of the marriage of the postmodern and the technological, summed up in a title: *The Postmodern Adventure: Science, Technology, and Cultural Studies at the Third Millennium*.<sup>24</sup> According to authors Steven Best and Douglas Kellner, “The postmodern adventure is just beginning and alternative futures unfold all around us.” To speak of defending the particular against universalizing tendencies is a postmodern commonplace, but this is mocked by the eager acceptance of the most universalizing force of all, the homogenization machine which is technology.

Andrew Feenberg discusses the all-pervasive presence of technology, arguing that when the Left joins in the celebration of technological advances, the ensuing consensus leaves little to disagree about. A leftist himself, Feenberg concludes that “we cannot recover what reification has lost by regressing to pretechnological conditions, to some prior unity irrelevant to the contemporary world.”<sup>25</sup> But such “relevance” is what is really at issue. To remain committed to the “contemporary world” is precisely the foundationless foundation of complicity. Postmodernity as the realization or completion of universal technology, globalization’s underlying predicate.

When the basics are ruled off-limits to contestation, the resulting evasion can have no liberatory consequence. Infatuation with surface, the marginal, the partial, etc. is typical. Postmodernism billed itself as subversive and destabilizing, but delivered only aesthetically. Emblematic of a period of defeat, the image consumes the event and we consume the images. The tone throughout Derrida’s work,

... continued on page 3



# Spreading Like wildfire

## by Felonious Skunk

### a review of two summer eco-anarchist gatherings

As the seasonal summer fires burn around the west, I contemplate incendiary "sparks" I witnessed in other bioregions. Much like wildfire restoring necessary nutrients to the soil, eco-anarchists are revitalizing movements long plagued with leftist and reformist tendencies, and are getting to the roots of the problems we all face.

This year, the annual **Earth First! Rendezvous** was held in upstate Minnesota, near the Boundary Waters along the Canadian border. The site was a beautiful spot along the shores of one the region's thousands of lakes. The organizing collective (which is decided each year for the following rendezvous) was a fresh and energetic crew, mostly from the Minneapolis area. They added a much-needed change from the old-timers who seem to dwell almost entirely on the "good ol' days" and promote washed-up analyses and tactics. Despite some naiveté, especially in dealing with law enforcement and media, the logistics came together relatively well. It was smaller than usual (under a hundred people), but most were really intent on making the gathering a meaningful endeavor. There were discussions ranging from "*Green Anarchy 101*" and "*Civilization and Patriarchy*" to "*Backwoods Stealth Training*" and a variety of direct action-oriented workshops. Lots of room was made for spontaneous discussions, informal dialog, and of course swimming, canoeing, and beer drinking.

Probably the most important discussion to transpire was the "*Earth First! Movement Self-Criticism*". There was no consensus as to any specific direction of "the movement", but it was unanimous that Earth First! needs to recognize that the problems facing the earth and all of her inhabitants run very deep, and thus require an appropriate resistance, as opposed to more of the same symbolic gestures. Some viewed EF! as a stepping stone for more radical action, while others envisioned an EF! which embraced a diversity of tactics from tree-sits and office occupations to low-level sabotage, while endorsing and explaining the need for more intense actions. My favorite vision, however, wished to see EF! move closer to its rhetoric (**NO COMPROMISE IN DEFENSE OF MOTHER EARTH!**), and become a vital component of a full-on eco-war, taking **ALL NECESSARY** action to stop the destruction of our mama, regardless of what the "mainstream" would think of it, or whether the "movement" is in agreement. (Let's be clear, it is not vanguardist to take the action you think is necessary to achieve liberation for yourself and the planet. It only becomes so, if you expect everyone else to follow your lead.) Inspiring action is necessary to fuel the momentum we sometimes seem to have lost, but even more important are effective and meaningful actions, those which actually make a significant impact in the techno-industrial infrastructure or create a substantial cultural shock. If the biocentric earth-warrior myth of Earth First! is to have any relevance in the future, it needs to draw on the more positive aspects of its past, move away from its often nostalgic and insular scenes, and develop strategies for a authentic resistance. Currently, there seems to be a profound synthesis of the founding deep ecologist conservationists of the '80s (who were willing to sabotage the machinery of the earth destroyers), the social activists of the '90s (who connected many of the dots of how and why the earth is being killed), and the non-reformist anti-authoritarian and anarchist folks of today (who comprehend the magnitude of change required). Overall, I was impressed by what I saw this year, a radical trend I have been feeling within Earth First! for a number of years now (although not always reflected in the *EF! Journal*), that of green anarchy.

On our way to the next gathering, we stopped briefly in Madison, Wisconsin, to talk with a small crowd and show videos at the university. Despite a low turn-out (most classes had been out for well over a month),

those in attendance seemed very interested in the anti-civilization critique, and brought up many stimulating questions. then made our way to Cleveland, Ohio, where we an urban edible/medicinal plant walk and an informal discussion on green anarchy, followed by videos. Folks here said that most of the local "activism" was either liberal or syndicalist oriented, and they were very excited about the night. They seemed to be a group who had been alienated by the "red" anarchist scene (those now producing the uninspiring and often pointless *Onward* anarchist publication). They said many of the local red anarchists are hostile towards any anti-civ ideas, but that they were enthusiastic about the questions we raised.

We finally made our way to the long anticipated **Black and Green Gathering**, an event long overdue. We need to be strong on our own, and not depend on

reformist environmental conferences or sectarian anarchist gatherings to get our critique out and make connections with like-minded people. From the start, the organizers of the event were faced with financial difficulties and frequently distracted by constant harassment from local, state, and federal authorities (not to mention possible infiltrators, and annoying wannabe pigs, much like those

sometimes at work here in Eugene). The location had to change in the last couple weeks because federal agents pressured the campground to cancel the organizers' reservation. Black and Green was contacted by the campground and asked, "Why didn't you tell us you are terrorists?" Organizers were also harassed in person. Despite the difficulties, the gathering went on as planned. The site could have been a little wilder, and the groups camping across the field—a group of civil war re-enactors and one of young marines—made for quite a surreal weekend. The content and enthusiasm, however, more than made up for any logistical problems. For three days, close to a hundred of us ate, played, learned, and talked. We had almost no down time as we went through basic to in-depth discussions about anarcho-primitivism, green anarchy, civilization, patriarchy, political prisoners, direct action, anarchist parenting, spirituality, and much more, not to mention every afternoon had extended sessions on primitive skills like fire-starting, shelter building, foraging, and other post-industrial essentials. My favorites topics of discussion were "*Beyond Veganism*", a challenge to our often dogmatic and limited lifestyle choices, and "*Hit Where It Hurts*", an evening campfire discussion on strategy and tactics aimed at crippling the techno-industrial machine. What civilization is, what we are going to do about it, and how we can exist outside of it, were central issues to almost every discussion. Interestingly, alcohol and drugs played almost no part (except for very limited and discreet circumstances) in this gathering, which was a pleasing change, probably vital for how much we wanted to accomplish in such a short time. With lots of connections made and information shared, it was good to see a gathering of this type, especially in the northeast—the bastion of lefty politics. Overall, I was inspired and refreshed to see the anti-civilization critique becoming more vibrant and widespread, especially among direct action-focused and young people. **The flames are continuing to grow...**

**Note: A Green Anarchy speaking tour is currently being scheduled for this fall in the northeast. Contact: [collective@greenanarchy.org](mailto:collective@greenanarchy.org) for details. Next year, the *Earth First! Rendezvous* will be on the coast of Maine (see [www.earthfirstjournal.org](http://www.earthfirstjournal.org)) and the second annual *Black and Green Gathering "Against Civilization"* will be here in Oregon, with the hope that it will be hosted in a different bioregion each year. Already people are getting together to make it happen. Check-out: [www.blackandgreen.org](http://www.blackandgreen.org) & [www.greenanarchy.org](http://www.greenanarchy.org)**

# Autumn Greetings

*Green Anarchy* #13 (Summer 2003) was put together in June on the eve of anti-bioengineering protests at the Sacramento World Trade Organization meeting. We are assembling this issue in September as the WTO "ministerial" summit takes place in Cancun. Last summer, peasants, anarchists, and students (overlapping categories, to be sure) stopped cold a planned mega-airport near Mexico City, so courageous resistance may also be the watchword at Cancun.

Meanwhile, the U.S. military occupation of Iraq absorbs daily casualties from various quarters. We may be witnesses to a decisive turning, in which no form of colonialism, traditional or neo-liberal, will be accepted anymore.

Eight states in the Northeast and Midwest, plus parts of Canada, felt history's biggest power failure in mid-August, as 50 million people were severed from the techno grid for a couple of days. The higher the hypercomplexity of the "Network society," the more vulnerable, the further to fall. Just one of so many baffling failures of this Tower of Babel system and a sign of things to come. The World Trade Towers, Enron, the power grid, all the components of this rotten order are falling. Already falling.

It is our own energy failure that should concern us most. Some "anarchists" since 9/11/01 have shrunk back into single-issue politics, forgetting that whenever the whole is not called into question the whole is strengthened. The reform posture, dreary and shallow, is no answer to the steadily deepening crisis.

Even academics, generally allergic to most reality at large, have begun to wonder if we haven't already entered the Age of Permanent Disaster. On every level, from the psyche to the social to the environmental, the grim evidence confronts us.

At the same time, a torrent of words declares the inevitable victory of the cyber/cyborg/digital/ virtual/Information Technology juggernaut. As the world Machine moves all the more clearly toward complete global integration, genocide and ecocide are illumined as having been a part of the movement of Progress all along. If catastrophe looms, it is increasingly difficult to say that it couldn't be discerned.

Unlike the chronic manipulateness of the Left, the strength of anarchy is its openness and transparency. Now more than ever we need to stress our contempt for concealed agendas and freely share our visions and critiques. Autonomy of thought and action is anathema to the Left (which has always labeled it "divisive"), but second nature to anarchists. *Right?*

## Welcome To Issue #14 - Fall 2003

While we have no specific "theme" for this issue, a major element, as usual, seems to be the search for where we have been and where we are going, and thoughts on how we might proceed. This issue features articles on globalization, nihilism, collapse, indigenous revolts, authoritarianism, progress, colonization, and more. We had the opportunity to do a wonderful interview with Chellis Glendinning, which we will conclude in our next issue. We have also included a new feature - "*Back to Basics*". We feel that sometimes we may gloss over some primary ideas or important concepts for the green anarchist trajectory. So, for this issue, we have produced a special insert on the "*Origins of Civilization*". This lays out some basic anarcho-primitivist assumptions and questions. Our schedule for future "*Back to Basics*" inserts include: Winter (#15) - "*The Problem with the Left*", Spring (#16) - "*Primitive Skills/Re-wilding*", and Summer (#17) - A revised "Introduction to Green Anarchy". We look forward to any thoughts and contributions along these lines, or suggestions for other topics. Of course, in this issue we also have lots of action reports, news, updates, and various opinion pieces, including reviews, letters, and other assorted anarchist critiques. We feel that, as anarchists, we must always be putting everything, including our own projects, into question. This is not to be divisive, self-righteous, or limiting, but so that we can actually grow and be effective, and not continue to make the same mistakes over and over. It is not a "waste of time" to be critical; it is essential. We want to be clear, we do not unanimously agree with everything stated in this publication, but we feel that it is all relevant to the furthering of the anti-civilization and general anarchist theory and practice. We are a collective, who don't always agree with each other, but share our common hatred of civilization and stagnancy, and love for life and resistance.

**The Green Anarchy Collective - Sept, 2003**



# A Surrealist re-imagining of Canada (1929)



The unbounded territory of the imagination known as surrealism has always included what is called Canada. From its earliest years, European surrealists have recognized Canada as a realm of the marvelous precisely because it was so un-European. While many Canadians pride themselves on their links to Britain and the Royal Family or to France, surrealists have downplayed these connections. Instead, right from the start, they proclaimed their affinity with Canadian aboriginal people by publishing what has come to be known as *The Surrealist Map of the World*. Originally appearing in the surrealist issue of the Belgian review, *Variétés* in 1929 under the title, “*Le Monde au temps des surréalistes*” (The World in the Time of the Surrealists), it has been attributed to French surrealist painter Yves Tanguy. The map is notable not only for its “plotting against Eurocentrism” as David Roediger has so brilliantly illuminated (Roediger in Sakolsky, *Surrealist Subversions*, 2002, pp. 327-331), but for, what would now be called in certain anarchist circles, its “anti-civ” content.

In reference to the depiction of Canada, the surrealist contempt for the European imperial project and its critique of civilization itself is, shall we say, all over the map. Indeed, Labrador has absorbed the entire mainland of Canada. Historically, aside from the obvious First Nations’ claims, the legal possession of Labrador was disputed between Quebec and Newfoundland (itself not then even a part of Canada). In 1927, the British Privy Council, not surprisingly, awarded Labrador to Newfoundland.

While the French-Canadian connection vis a vis Québec might have called the attention of French surrealists like Tanguy to what was then a recent dispute, instead of operating in terms of French diasporic nationalism and simply redrawing the map with Labrador granted to Québec, the surrealist resolution of this conflict has Labrador absorb almost all of what was then Canada, including Québec and Newfoundland as well.

In so doing, the surrealist map magically returns Canada to Native sovereignty. In this sense, Tanguy’s re-imagining of the map of Canada demonstrates surrealism’s admiration for the primal art and culture of Native peoples, such as Labrador’s Inuit, and a passional attraction to wilderness that recognizes the utter expendability of the imported European civilization. For Tanguy, all of what was then Canada became Labrador, except for the seemingly autonomous little corner of Canada nearest to where I presently reside, represented on the surrealist map by the Queen Charlotte Islands (shown in French as Iles Charlotte and known to the Native people of the Northwest Coast as Haida Gwaii). The obvious connection here was surrealism’s reverence for the awe-inspiring Haida totem poles and carvings.

The surrealists urge us to forget about that old colonialist mapmaker, Mercator, and, we might now add, even the more progressive Arno Peters. Instead they ask: What if you could design a map of the world that made no pretense to realistic cartographic boundaries? Back in 1929, surrealists imagined a world without Empire. On their map, the UK ceased to exist. Its future imperial successor, the continental USA, was literally wiped off the face of the earth, emphasizing instead the wild tundras and “Eskimo” people of Alaska, and the Oceanic culture of Hawaii, which at that time had not yet been absorbed as an American state. The surrealist map implicitly poses the question, ‘Why not demolish imperialism at its very source?’ Given twenty-first century American imperial history, an interesting contemporary footnote is that while the USA has been transformed out of existence on this map, Afghanistan retains its fabled position as a fertile East-West crossroads. So while the surrealist map does not totally eliminate the nation state as a point of reference, it recognizes Native autonomy and affirms a basis of sovereignty rooted not in civilized realpolitik, but with reference to the only true surrealist compass, the radical trajectory of the unfettered imagination.

**Ron Sakolsky, Denman Island, Summer, 2003**

## GLOBALIZATION AND ITS APOLOGISTS: by John Zerzan

... continued from page one

for instance, seems never far from mourning. The abiding sadness of Blanchot is also to the point. The postmodern, according to Geoffery Hartman, “suggests a disenchantment that is final, or self-perpetuating.”<sup>26</sup>

The subject, in the current ethos, is seen on the one hand as an unstable, fragmented collection of positions in discourse—even as a mere effect of power, or of language—and on the other hand as part of a positive, pluralist array of alternatives. By avoiding examination of the main lines of domination, however, postmodernists blind themselves to the actual, deforming characteristics of technology and consumerism. The forgetful self of technology, buffeted by the ever-shifting currents of commodified culture, is hard-pressed to form an enduring identity. There is, in fact, an increasing distance between dominant global forces and the endangered coherent individual.

The high-tech network of the world system is completing the transformation of classes into masses, the erosion of group solidarity and autonomy, and the isolation of the self. As Bamyeh points out, these are the preconditions of modern mass democracies, as well as the basic political features of global modernity itself.<sup>27</sup> Meanwhile, participation in this setup dwindles, as a massified, standardized techno-world makes a joke of the idea that any of it could be changed on its own terms. Elections, for instance, are widely understood to be insulting and meaningless rituals, technicized and commodified exercises in manipulation.<sup>28</sup> Fulfillment and freedom are fast evaporating, while the predominant note of social theory seems to be completely uncritical. The subject is merely a shifting intersection of global networks; “the I is a moment of complexity,” says Mark Taylor in unconcerned summary.<sup>29</sup>

Along with health-threatening obesity (largely due to the rapid spread of “fast food” and other processed foods), depression has become an international scourge. Among various consequences of development, depression testifies directly to the loss of deeply important ingredients of human happiness. But as Lyotard has it, “despair is taken as a disorder to control, never as the sign of an irremediable lack.”<sup>30</sup> Already the fourth leading cause of disability in the U.S., depression is projected to take second place by 2020. Despite the general reactionary focus on genetics and chemical palliatives, depression has much more to do with the growing isolation of individuals within developed society. The figures about declining social and civic membership or affiliation are relevant; the rise of autism, binge drinking, and illiteracy betoken depression’s progress as an even more profound phenomenon. “At the time of the so-called triumph of the West, why do so many people feel so crappy,

so lonely, so abandoned?” asks philosopher Bruce Wilshire.<sup>31</sup>

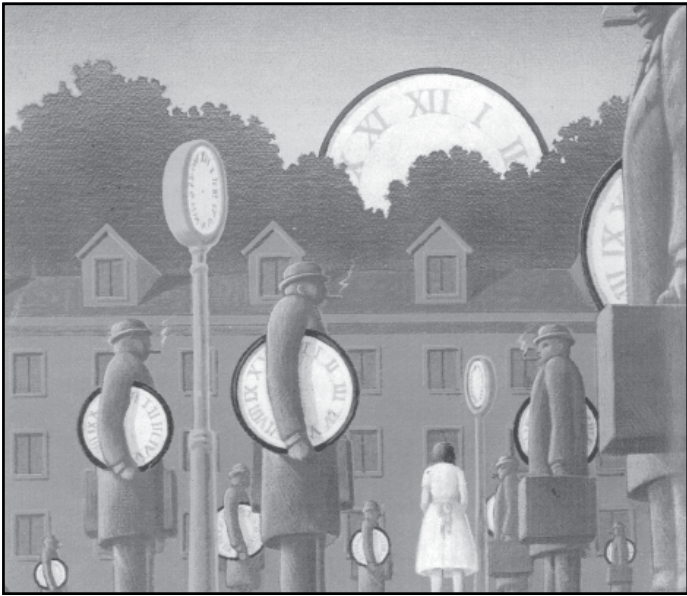
It should no longer appear paradoxical that a deepening malaise co-exists with the escalating importance of expertise in managing everyday life. People distrust the institutions, and have lost confidence in themselves. Elissa Gootman’s “Job Description: Life of the Party” discusses hired party “motivators,” professionals who guarantee successful socializing.<sup>32</sup> On a more serious note, instrumental rationality penetrates our lives at ever-younger ages. Kids as young as two are now routinely medicated for depression and insomnia.<sup>33</sup>

An array of postmodernisms and fundamentalisms seems to have displaced belief in the future. Marcuse wondered whether narcissism’s yearning for completeness and perfection might not contain the germ of a different reality principle. Even whether, contra Hegel, reconciliation could only happen outside of historical time.<sup>34</sup>

Such “critics” as there be (Chomsky, Derrida, Ricoeur, Plumwood, for example) call for a global governance/planning apparatus—under which, it must be said, the individual would have even less of a voice. Anti-totality Derrida wants a “New International,” apparently ignorant of the actual zero degree of “democracy” that obtains in the current political jurisdictions. Such superficiality, avoidance, and illusion surely constitutes acceptance of the ongoing devastation. Of course, if statist regulation could be an answer it would necessarily be totalitarian. And it would be partial at best, because it would never indict any of civilization’s motive forces, such as division of labor or domestication.

What is clear to some of us is that a turn away from the virtual, global networks of power, unlimited media, and all the rest is a necessity. A break with this worsening world toward embeddedness, the face-to-face, non-domination of nature and each other.

Todd Gitlin, while rejecting such a refusal as mere “wishfulness,” is helpful on the subject: “So consistent abolitionists have little choice but to be root-and-branch, scorch-and-burn primitivists, scornful of the rewards of a consumer society, committed to cutting the links in the invisible chain connecting modern production, consumption, and the technologies implicated in both. Only unabashed primitivists can create postindustrial wholeness.”<sup>35</sup>



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- 18 Hayles, *ibid.*, p. 246. The occasional assertion by such commentators that this reality is at the same time being “highly contested” is the height of irony, as is the mandatory repeated use of the buzzword “body” in virtually every postmodern work of the 1990s.
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# The World Needs Not “Our” Science, But Its Destruction and Our Rebellion

The role of the university as a center for the reproduction (simple or expanded), formation, and systemization of the dominant ideology has not essentially altered in the course of time; indeed, it is not bound to alter until the abolition of all relations of property and power. Moreover, the university domain fulfills and confines itself in techniques, methods, and programs designed to block thinking and the flow of experiencing. This sort of policing, disciplining, and conditioning reaches even the point of producing a special mind police/mind squad, generally known under the euphemism ‘psychiatrists.’

The present situation in the Greek universities is determined by the attempt on the part of the State (‘Civil’ or ‘Organized Society’, according to its beautifiers) and the professors-as-shepherd dogs to stabilize a system of studies intensification and strict selection, in order to create a technocratic elite (polytechnic schools) as well as an inferior executive caste (intermediate technical schools), both ideologically manipulated and aptly (mis)educated. Furthermore, the directing commissars of the parties and student unions (poor relatives of the prevalent form of capitalism and necessary policing levers—i.e. bridges of its transition into state capitalist forms) aim at rendering us docile automata, instruments at their disposal; they aim to bridle, distort, cripple, and detour our desires in the pursuit of occupying a better position in the production process; to manipulate us, the passive, inconsiderate and perhaps well-accommodated student “masses”, in order to sooner or later cast us into the socialist or communist labor market they are envisaging.

As Teng Xiaobing, the notorious bureaucrat and modernizer of the Chinese Capital, put it, “white cat — black cat, all cats swallow moles.” Indeed, if the old mole of revolution (Grandfather Karl’s expression) does not succeed this time, the totalitarian society sketched by George Orwell is near, very near. The scientist is at the same time the product, victim, and buttress of the bourgeois social organization and, specifically, of the fragmentation and brutalization of labor. S/he will cease being the victim only if s/he negates his/her social role as well as this fragmented science, and the castrated/castrating/ossified knowledge. How can s/he negate all these? First, by rejecting the professional/corporate oligopoly of knowledge; by attempting its detournement, the re-appropriation/transformation of that minimal part which is really useful by the “people,” by the interested proletarianized individuals.

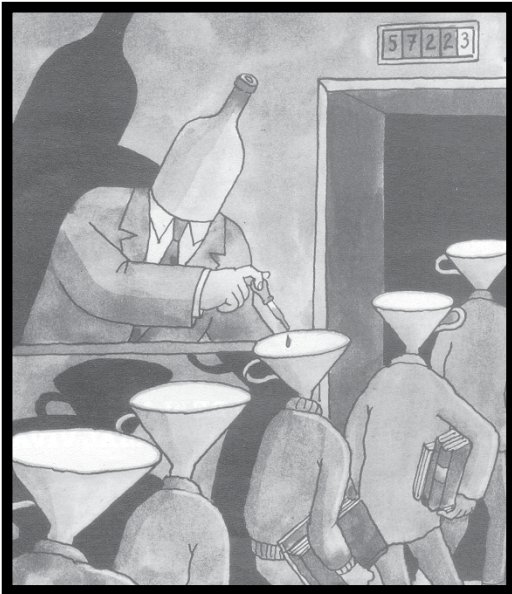
The system and its science are founded on a nexus of separations and categorizations, this straightjacket of reality, on ignorance, outright or garnished lies, illusions and deceptions, on direct or indirect suppression. A radical critique of science-in-itself will dumbfound and paralyze it. We are the cogs of an impersonal and depersonalizing machine. Let’s negate this condition since the security that we will not die of hunger is backed by the assurance that we will die of boredom; like the daily death we are suffering in the army, in the galleys of wage labor, in the ghettos of recreation (sic), in the campuses, in prisons and psychiatric clinics.

All those who believe that the student unions have copped out, they are willfully blind by deceiving themselves. The role of the student unions is to professionally manipulate us by channeling the student struggles into electoral politics, as a trump card of the opposition parties. It is obvious by now that the governmental lockout of the universities is part of a collusion which included the plausible “escalation of the struggle”, that is, the controlled and disciplined occupations, designed to prevent the already spreading wildcat-type situations. The “Students’ Guarding Teams” do not guard anyone except us, the students. Every single activity of the student unions is confined within these walls built around us.

On the one hand, they serve and perpetuate the ideology of the ruling class (either bourgeois or bureaucratic); on the other, they launch this ideology (either with parliamentary politeness or bullying violence) to the miserable student masses.

Masses characterized by their utter loneliness. The field of free selection of which is epitomized in the dilemma of Coca-Cola or Pepsi-Cola. One of the Goody’s [a chain of cafeterias] or one of the “traditional” tavernas. Kampanellis or Brecht. Ritsos or Elytis [miserable poets]. Markopoulos or Mikzoutsikos [Greek composers of dumb pseudo-folk music]. Rancid choices in a marketplace of lies.

## Ladies and Gentlemen, the Performance Has Just Started



Right- and left-wingers, all carrying the tokens or rather insignia of progressiveness, are “fighting” on our behalf, arbitrarily, without asking us; manipulating and directing our truths, our desires and our needs into socialist or pro-socialist politics, inside the molds and clichés of ideology, of the inverted and petrified theory of the past.

We believe that reactions against proposition 815 [an attempt by the State to regulate the university issues by controlling even tighter the student body] is the pretext and the rallying point for the spreading of a generalized contestation and negation, for a generalized revolt; as was more or less the occasion with the rivalries over soccer results in Megara, the State-regulated cucumbers’ price for the farmers of Crete, and the “immoral” episcopate of the Ionian

islands. Let’s utilize and develop the dynamic of these struggles. It is necessary, however, to combine the revolt with multiple, thoughtful, imaginative, and polymorphous corrosion and subversion, something that will not automatically appear and manifest itself as such.

Daily misery, sexual repression, the financial, emotional, and existential impasse, the desperateness of a generation surrounded and suffocated by the older ones, here are the obstacles to the realization of imagination, of the dream, and of our being. State-organized suppression, power, authority, and the infallibility

of science and its hierarchy, the separation between manual labor and knowledge; these are all temples to be assaulted with revolutionary zeal! The social prestige of “students” should be shattered, together with anything that inhibits liberation.

*Colleagues in daily misery:* No more efforts aiming at a more comfortable social accommodation; let’s struggle so that we cease being the wretched and castrated of the earth. Let’s occupy and destroy the production centers of specialized idiots. Let’s destroy the places, lifestyles, and modes of boredom, non-thinking, and non-living. We should transform the destruction

of pleasure into the pleasure of destruction. Those of us who study accounting can settle nothing more than the balance of our miserable life. *The only ‘red university’ is the one which is burning down.*

## Council for the Spreading/ Advancement of Occupations

### Literary Postscript (January 1979, source unknown)

“...So we move from [faculty] building to building, from autonomous meetings to rock concerts, looking desperately for communication, which is nothing more than an illusion of community, something that we should have realized a long time ago; looking for the realization of our chronically squeezed desires and needs; all these, in an admittedly badly organized show. At least let’s manifest our disgust for those roaming fixed looks, ghosts of a movement which neither moves nor lives. At least let’s find the capacity, the courage, and the talent to transform for good this illusion of experiencing into the experiencing and supersession of illusion.”

## By anonymous Greek friends

## THE RECUPERATION OF MISERY AND THE MISERY OF RECUPERATION

Disobeying an order is not the same thing as opposing the current state of things in its totality: one who disobeys can also base their action on the idea that it is not power in itself that needs to be eliminated but rather just its current arrangement.

“Acting” consequently on the basis of such an assumption, one could even simulate (in the best



of cases) struggling against a constituted authority (let’s say an Empire), posing as the head of the “movement of movements” while, in the structure and adopted practices, the same authoritarian characteristics are revealed.

An imperceptible detail seems to slip by: the complete non-existence of a true movement of opposition.

Instead of attempting its construction, one assists in the pathetic show of a spectacular opposition: former collaborators with former ministers who, taking on the role of spokespeople, participate in televised transmissions, pseudo-battles carried out while looking upon parties and unions, and “social centers” that owe their existence to funds generously granted by the very governments against which they claim to struggle, as allies.

Rather than the subversion of the existent, the “new global” activists theorize and, to the extent that they can, put into practice participation in the management of present and future harm.

To anyone who invites us “not to hate the media, but to become that media” [!] it is useless to emphasize their blatantly repressive role: through the creation of a mass, passive, atomized and numbed human being, the foundations of a new totalitarian regime are laid, the one developed by technological society that attacks every human practice until it renders the human being itself unnecessary.

To anyone who proposes “controlling GMOs from below”, it is useless to mention the intrinsic nature of industrial technology: an instrument of power.

To anyone who attributes value (if one wants to define it as such) to contributing in this way to a quantitative growth in the movement, it is difficult to reveal the lack of any revolutionary quality whatsoever.

To anyone who replies to the critiques, moved by them to lament the absence of any positive theses, one has to respond that it is necessary first of all to start from a clear choice of battlefields.

**Associazione Contro la Rovinosa Avanzata della Tecnologia Industriale (ACRATI)**

**[Association Combating the Ruinous Advance of Technology and Industrialism]**





“(Nihilism) stands like an extreme that cannot be gotten beyond, and yet it is the only true path of going beyond; it is the principle of a new beginning.”  
- Maurice Blanchot, *The Limits of Experience: Nihilism*

If we desire another world, what is necessary for us to do to achieve this end? Specifically what changes must we enact personally, socially, and as a movement?<sup>1</sup> Beyond a coming-to-power, what is the task of resolving the contradictions of not only the current methodological system of social organization, but the partial solutions offered by others who would also pursue social power? To what extent must these changes happen now or can they be part of the action-as-consequence?

Here is where nihilism can provide some new perspective. A definition of nihilism<sup>2</sup> could be the realization “that conditions in the social organization are so bad as to make destruction desirable for its own sake independent of any constructive program or possibility.” This exposes one of the greatest idealistic flaws of modern activism: The articulation of the specific world-to-be as a result of your actions does not guarantee that world’s creation.

It is the tradition of the materialist conception of history that allows for the fallacy of causality to pollute the spirit of today. If production and exchange are the basis of every social structure throughout history, then we can limit ourselves to studying them to understand how any transition to another world may occur. Therefore an understanding of economic systems should suffice to understand the strategic opportunities for transition. Since the vast majority of economics is understanding the relationship of institutions (which are only accountable to the current power structure) to each other, such an analysis seems like trying to understand an internal combustion engine from the motion of a car.

Materialism has largely been seen as an incomplete conception of history. This is partially due to the power structures embedded in the formation of most institutions but also due to the moral forces that challenge materialism’s functionalist underpinnings. In the simple case, a benevolent God created the universe and has some vested interest in how things happen here. Therefore moral systems exist in the name of God’s interests, as stated in holy texts and by fallible interpreters. Since the dispersion of the Reformation and the secularization of the rise of Science, morality is usually defined in relation to politics. This has led to the moral component to Marx’s analysis and of the Left in general.

*“The Communists, therefore, are on the one hand practically, the most advanced and resolute section of the working-class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others; on the other hand, theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the lines of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement.”*  
[*The Communist Manifesto*, Marx and Engels]

Moral value, or ‘good’, is defined by the specific cultural values of Europe, of a developed Christian worldview, and the developing beliefs in individualism, meritocracy, and mercantilism. These are still the hurdles that even the most starry-eyed of protesters trip over, sometime spectacularly.<sup>3</sup>

Historical evidence, if it is to be believed, would actually demonstrate that the visions of “successful” social revolutionaries have shockingly little to do with the form of the new society they create. Take the French Revolution, where the form of class society was to be changed. It did, from the three estates of church, nobility, and commoners to a powerful state, centralized bureaucracy, and burgeoning capitalist infrastructure. All it took was the Committee of Public Safety, a Reign of Terror, and a 15-year Total War effort that would transform warfare forever. For the Russian Revolution many differing tendencies aspired to revolutionary victory. Its eventual leaders called for “All power to the Soviets” and ended up settling for crushing their opposition and enacting the New Economic Policy.<sup>4</sup> The twentieth century has ended with a steep decline in not only successful social change but also a poverty of visionaries who are pursuing change at all.

Anarchism and nihilism share a common antecedent. Bakunin’s 1842 dictum, “Let us put our trust in the eternal spirit which destroys and annihilates only because it is the unsearchable and eternally creative source of all life. The desire for destruction is also a creative desire,” sparked both movements. Nihilism’s cultural peak was in the 1860’s, although its activism continued almost to the early twentieth century.

It is arguable that anarchists inherited ‘propaganda by the deed’ from the Russian nihilists. Nihilism’s theorists<sup>5</sup> continued to be cited as precursors to the revolutionary activity in Russia until they were ‘disappeared’ well into the Bolshevik regime.

What does nihilism have to offer beyond a mere avocation of destruction? The nihilist position does not allow for the comforts of this world. Not only is God dead to a nihilist, but also everything that has taken God’s place; idealism, consciousness, reason, progress, the masses, culture, etc. Without the comforts of this meta-physical ‘place’ a strategic nihilist is free to drift unfettered by the consequences of her actions.

Nihilism  
is  
strategic  
by A!

“A nihilist is a person who does not bow down to any authority, who does not accept any principle on faith, however much that principle may be revered.”<sup>6</sup>

Philosophically, much has resulted from the nihilist ideas on value, aesthetics and practice.

Most notably in Adorno’s conception of Negative Dialectics, a principle which refuses any kind of affirmation or positivity, a principle of thorough-going negativity. The nihilist tradition includes Adorno, Nietzsche, Bakunin, much of classic Russian literature, Dada, punk rock, some of Heidegger, existentialist, post-structuralist and post-modern thinkers, and much of anarchism.

What does this really mean on the modern stage? Strategic nihilism allows for the possibility that there is no future. The possibility of radical social transformation then becomes unhinged from the utopian aspirations of its proponents. Their ‘hope’ can clearly be shown to be disconnected from the social and material reality of both the society as-it-is and the potential society that-could-be. If the destruction of the current order must be achieved, for our own potential to be realized,



for its own sake, for the children, it may be better to do it with open eyes than purposely blinded ones. A strategic nihilist understands that an ethical revolution does not create an ethical society. An ethical anarchist is not one concerned with non-utopian social transformation, only an idealized one. A strategic nihilist understands that the infrastructure of the modern world embeds its own logic and inhabitants, and the nihilist is willing to toss it asunder anyway.

Vaneigem states in *Revolution of Everyday Life*, that “Juvenile delinquents are the legitimate heirs of Dada.” This speaks to a positive nihilism that may be a comforting way in which we can approach the troubling consequences embedded within nihilism’s logic. Anarchists have generally accepted property destruction in their humanist vision of an ethical social change. Things matter less than people. Nihilism informs us that this dichotomy ties us to the world we must supercede, before we are capable of actually having social relationships with people

and not things. Strategic nihilism provides us a solution to existentialism and liberalism. It argues for an active pose in this world and for the inviability of reformist solutions. When confronted with the horror of your existence, race towards the bleak consequences, not away. Deal with the *moralism* explicit in your stated irrelevance by identity politics, communism, and post-modernism with a sword in hand. Moralists should be spared no patience.

What if you are struggling in ‘the movement’? Nihilism can provide you a suite of tools. The first is deep skepticism. Every action, every meeting, is filled with politicians-in-waiting who are easy to discern, with their plastic smiles and fluency with ‘the process’. A strategic nihilism allows its practitioner to see these types for what they are; and the ability to do with them what is necessary by your analysis, and not theirs.

The second is a new eye towards history. Whereas before it may have been easy to get caught up in the details of the who’s, when’s and why’s of the Paris Commune, now it is easy to see the failure in the partiality without getting bogged down in the specific half-measures. Time devoted to arguing how many angels dance on the head of a pin is time away from the pursuit of anything else.

Finally, a strategic nihilist position allows for a range of motion heretofore not available. The ethical limitations of ‘doing the right thing’ have transformed movements for social change. From pacifists and ethicists who sanctimoniously wait for the club to fall or the strength of their convictions to shatter capitalism, to adherents of the Vietnam-era form of social protest. It is clear that the terrain allowed by morality is bleak and filled with quagmire. Armed struggle groups, who led non-existent masses toward their better world, have shown similar failure. If these are not the models that frame your conception of change, you are free to make moves on a chessboard that no one else is playing on. You begin to write the rules that those in power are not prepared for. You can take angles, you can pace yourself, you can start dreaming big again, instead of just dreaming as large as the next demo, action, or war.

## Notes:

1. The term movement is used to provide perspective here. It is a matter of scale in Western Culture to begin with the self and end with the society. While we reject this tautology, we embrace the clarity of its apparent simplicity.
2. There are about as many definitions of nihilism as there are of Anarchism. The difference is that to the extent that there is a social phenomenon of nihilism it is largely regressive and insular. Anarchism has puppet shows, nihilism only has black coffee and cigarettes.
3. “When that explosive detonated yesterday it broke all the windows in the family’s house. I was in the process of being served tea and playing with the two small babies. I’m having a hard time right now. Just feel sick to my stomach a lot from being doted on all the time, very sweetly, by people who are facing doom. I know that from the United States, it all sounds like hyperbole. Honestly, a lot of the time the sheer kindness of the people here, coupled with the overwhelming evidence of the wilful destruction of their lives, makes it seem unreal to me. I really can’t believe that something like this can happen in the world without a bigger outcry about it. It really hurts me, again, like it has hurt me in the past, to witness how awful we can allow the world to be. I felt after talking to you that maybe you didn’t completely believe me. I think it’s actually good if you don’t, because I do believe pretty much above all else in the importance of independent critical thinking. And I also realise that with you I’m much less careful than usual about trying to source every assertion that I make. A lot of the reason for that is I know that you actually do go and do your own research. But it makes me worry about the job I’m doing. All of the situation that I tried to enumerate above - and a lot of other things - constitutes a somewhat gradual - often hidden, but nevertheless massive - removal and destruction of the ability of a particular group of people to survive.” - Rachel Corrie (to her mother)
4. “This policy was initiated in 1921 to replace the policy of War Communism, which had prevailed during the Russian civil war and led to declines in agricultural and (non-military) industrial production... a policy of substituting a tax instead of requisitions; of allowing the peasantry to dispose of their surplus within the limits of “local trade”; of allowing the development of capitalist concessions to a delimited extent, and of state capitalism. This state capitalism, in industry and agriculture, was allowed a considerable field of possibilities in which to develop, while the proletarian government retained control of the key industries, state banking; that nationalization of the land remained and that the state held a monopoly of foreign trade.” *Encyclopedia of Marxism*
5. Chernyshevsky, Pisarev, and Herzen
6. Ivan Turgenev’s 1861 novel *Fathers and Sons*

“Eventually the system will reach a point - the word that provides the social cue is “integration” - where the universal dependence of all moments on all other moments makes the talk of causality obsolete. It is idle to search for what might have been a cause within a monolithic society. Only that society itself remains the cause.” - Theodor W. Adorno, *Negative Dialectics*



# Bringing It All Back Home...

## An Interview with Chellis Glendinning - Part I

**Chellis Glendinning** is a psychologist, political activist and writer. Her books include: *Off the Map: An Expedition Deep Into Empire and the Global Economy*, which won the National Federation of Press Women 2000 Book Award; *My Name Is Chellis and I'm In Recovery From Western Civilization: When Technology Wounds*, which was nominated for a Pulitzer Prize in 1991; and *Waking Up in the Nuclear Age*. She has also written for all kinds of newspapers and journals, including *San Francisco Chronicle*, *San Francisco Bay Guardian*, *New Mexican*, *Mother Jones*, *Orion*, and *Utne Reader*. Chellis - or as her friends call her, Che - lives in Chimayó and is currently working on a book about the illicit heroin trade called *Chiva: the Ups and Downs of a Heroin Village*.

We had the opportunity to ask Chellis a number of questions. These are only the first few, focusing on her life, political work, and the direction of her current writing. A second interview will be featured in our next issue.

**GA:** Your books possess a very personal nature, dealing with immense subjects from a human-scale. How does your daily life influence your writing?

**Chellis:** Goodness, that's a book in itself! Well, I live in Chimayó, New Mexico—in a Chicano land-based culture that still functions, but that is being mowed over by the mechanisms, thought forms and technologies of the global economy. It's a very special place because the infrastructure, attitudes, and values of a land-based culture are still very much in existence. People here are still identified by lineage, family, and village. Northern New Mexico is structured by villages, and then there is a central town, Española, where the railroad used to be—a town of bartering, exchanging, and coming and going. But the villages have plazas and a social structure that date back hundreds of years. People are judged based on their contributions to the community, on their values, their kindness, their realness.

So my writing is very influenced by this place. Before I moved to the village of Chimayó eleven years ago, my writing was much more sociological, more lifted up and looking down, identifying things from up above. Robert Romanyshyn, a brilliant thinker who teaches at Pacifica College in southern California, has written a book about a perceptual distancing that took place in Europe around the 1500s and 1600s that evolved into linear perspective, so that you're viewing things from far away or from up above, and there's distance involved in that perspective. The art of Europe had been very tactile and, we might say, disorganized by its attention to sensuality. Then linear perspective arose and it reorganized perception the way that cities are organized—with boulevards, mechanistic, mathematical. So the development of civilization at that point in Europe's history was lifting people up from the sensuality of the experience of the moment. As a psychologist, I see this lifting up and distancing as comparable to what happens when you're being traumatized. And indeed, Europe was being traumatized in the 1500s and 1600s. And we are being traumatized now.

Here in this village, where everything is face-to-face and human-scale, my writing has changed. I write now much more from a sensual perspective. I've become more embodied in myself, and therefore I've become more embodied in my writing. I'm interested in storytelling. I began this shift in *Off the Map* [see review, p.13].

There's a second thing I want to mention. In recent years, we have been inundated by what are called *indocumentados*—those who have found that their lives in Mexico are so unbearable by the economic forces of NAFTA, that they must leave home just to survive. The average Mexican lives on less than \$1.90 per day in urban areas and less than \$1.30 per day in the country. So many of them have come here to work just so their families won't starve. They come according to their villages. Here in Chimayó, we have whole groups of Mexican *indocumentados* from Sinaloa and from

Chihuahua. They are very much a part of my life and they also come from a land-based perspective. So it's kind of a double thing going on. I am living in a village where people see things according to place, according to family, according to relationship to the river, the mountain, corn, the horses, where the kota grows, where the osha grows—and then on top of that, I'm relating to people who, although they are displaced, also carry a kind of loyalty to their place.

So not only has the form of my writing changed from sociological to storytelling, but also the content has changed. Now, it's not that I didn't have really great politics before—I did, I think—but I have dropped to a deeper level of understanding. Human beings belong on the land, and we belong surviving on the land. We belong in a lineage of people who have been in that relatively same place. I am fascinated by the central dynamic of the last, some would say, 400 years—back to the European Age of Exploration; some would say 10,000 years—back to the Neolith when domestication became something that was identifiable; or back to changes that took place in the Paleolith—having perhaps to do with the beginning of active hunting. No matter what I'm writing about, it always comes down to that cutting political friction between imperial systems and land-based, in-place, sustainable, and anarchistic community.

If I look at the theme of all of my writing, really, but particularly in the past few years, this is what it's about. I judge everything based on the human background of what should be, which is what was, for a million if not two million years of human existence before we seem to have taken an unfortunate and disastrous turn for the worse.

**GA:** So, in what ways does your perspective, your political and personal analysis, apply to your everyday life?

**Chellis:** Well, there's how I live. *New York Magazine* interviewed me when they were writing about Kirkpatrick Sale and his *Rebels Against the Future*. They were trying to throw a put-down, and they said that I live in a "mud hut". I wrote back: "You would die to live in this mud hut!" I live in an adobe house set against a hill. To the back of me is the village, and to the front of me are acres and acres of what we call *la mal tierra*, the badlands, upland desert that used to be the bottom of the sea. I heat my house with passive solar and a wood-burning stove. The wood

is usually given to me by the men from a village up the mountain as a gift, because for many years I did political work for them. I love to hang out at the general store, meet and greet the folks. I have in the past also been known to hang out at the dump. In other words, the places where people come, where you can find out what's going on.

But I think that my perspective also applies to my daily life through my politics. Now, thank the lord for all the people who are fighting the dominant society from within and at its edges. I don't mean to bring up that obligatory conflict between reform and revolution. I mean, people who live in the dominant society and are fighting for life from that location. But because I live in a land-based community, my job as a political person has become to preserve *this* place. My politics have come to be about the sovereignty rights of *this* place. This is a different perspective than always thinking about *everything*. When we grow up in the empire, the educational system teaches us not only to think about *everything*, but to have an opinion about *everything*. Right here is the basis of imperialism. When we finally do break down the empire and

come into place, we will find that there is a boundary to knowledge. There is a boundary to what you can have an opinion about.

I have come to think this way, so that when I leave here, I go through the same kind of cultural shock that many indigenous people go through when they leave their place and enter into the dominant society. After September 11, I went with some Chicano friends to a Jungian event to think about the effects of September 11, the shock, trauma, dislocation, and confusion that came with that horror. All of the people on the panel were saying "we," as if they were speaking for all of humanity. Finally one of my Chicano friends had to get up and leave, because the "we" that the educated Anglo psychologists were insisting on was not at all inclusive of him and did not represent his attitude. I feel very fortunate in my life to have been re-educated by my community into something that is much more of a human-scale perspective on life.

**GA:** What have you been writing about lately?

**Chellis:** I have been writing about my *Mexicano* friends. Now, there's something very interesting in the way I just said that. I did not say that I'm writing about border issues or U.S.-Mexico relations. I'm writing about *my friends*. Right there is revealed a principle by which I move through the world and do my work. This is something that I came

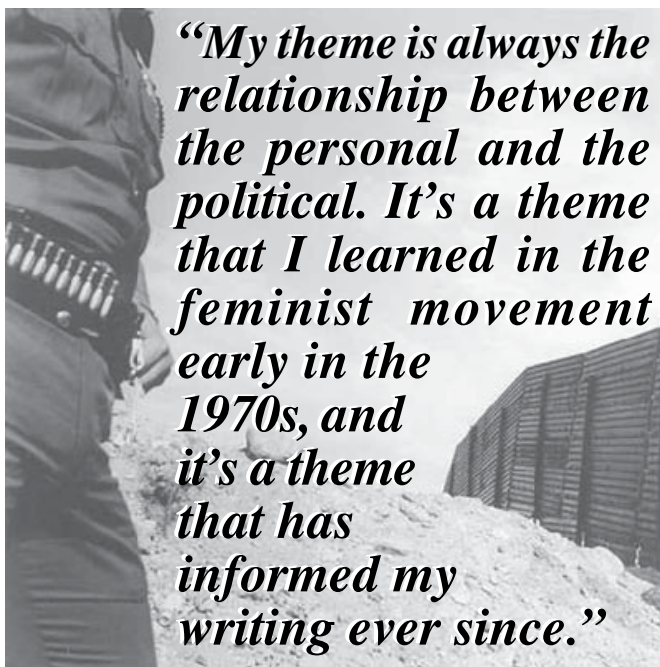
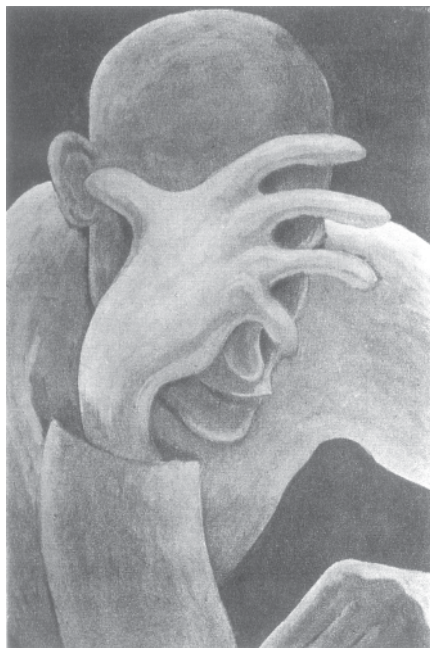
into in the feminist movement, way back in the '70s. I'm not saying this is the only way to do it, I'm not even saying it's preferred. It's how *I've* come to work. I do my politics by relationship. It is on a human scale. It is by a connection. It is through a trust. I didn't start off wanting to write about issues having to deal with the flight of Mexicans into the United States. I came into it because I met Jorge. I met Raul. I met Miguel. I met Raymundo—and we became friends. So through these friendships, I learned about the issues. Rather than, say, if you were a journalist at a newspaper, you would research all the statistics, and then you would go out and you would find someone who would be an emblem for the issue. You might spend 45 minutes with that person, just enough so you can write the article. Whereas for me, I am usually living my life. I'm attracted to certain situations and certain people, and it's only as an afterthought that I end up writing about them.

One night, Jorge and Raul were leaving the discount food market in Española, in their unregistered, uninsured automobile with no drivers' licenses, and the police pulled them over, and pretty soon they were deported. First, they were in the INS holding jail. Then they had a three-minute court case, and they were sent by bus to Juarez. It was the dead of winter. They didn't have coats, and they didn't have money. They made their way over to Agua Prieta, below Tucson on the Mexico side of the border, and they walked back up through the desert, dodging the surveillance technologies and the Border Patrol, the helicopters and SUVs. They walked with a group of 38 other folks from Michoacan, from Chiapas, from El Salvador and Guatemala. Then, they were kidnapped by assault rifle-toting smugglers who insisted they pay a certain amount of money, and if they didn't pay, they would be killed.

Throughout this journey, my friends were calling me up and saying, "This is what's happening now. Now we're in Juarez. We're freezing, and we don't even have any money. We don't even know what to do." Or "We are now about to launch off into the desert." Or! "The barrel of a gun is at my temple. Can you save us?" These things were happening to people that I love. I tried to meet each predicament with whatever resources I had. When we finally got them back here, everybody said, "You've got to write about this." So I ended up writing a three-piece series for the *Santa Fe New Mexicana*.

I'm interested in continuing to write about this situation. I've learned a great deal. I've learned the history behind it, the politics, the reasons why Mexicanos are coming here. For a large portion of my week, I live inside their world. I have dinner with them. We go shopping at the Goodwill together. We hang out at their house. We hang out at my house. We go dancing at the Club Lumina, the Mexican *cantina* in Española. They're here using my telephone to talk to their families. I get to talk to their wives.

By the way, I have to tell you that I ended up arranging the rescue from the assault rifle-toting smugglers by getting help from folks in our movement. I didn't know anybody in Arizona!



**"My theme is always the relationship between the personal and the political. It's a theme that I learned in the feminist movement early in the 1970s, and it's a theme that has informed my writing ever since."**





Curiously enough, the person who was most important in helping was an anarchist from Tucson, Dan Todd. The rescue was truly the best of anarchy—starting off with one person who doesn't have the right resources and reaching all over the country until a whole number of people spontaneously came together. One person put up the money. One person came to get the money. One person did the transfer to get Raul and Jorge. One person drove a certain distance. One person met them. One person fed them when they got back. It was a beautiful thing and a real testimony to our movements.

**GA:** *As a psychologist—much like Frantz Fanon did almost a half century ago—you offer a unique perspective on the mutilating effects of colonization and the healing process needed to overcome these effects. Could you comment on how the perspective of eco-psychology affects your analysis?*

**Chellis:** First of all, thank you for even putting me in the same sentence with Frantz Fanon! What an incredible pioneer. He was a Martinique black man who, because of his service to France during World War II, was able to use the GI bill to become a psychiatrist. Then he was able to take the academic language that he had learned, and turn it back on itself to redefine the experience of colonization. His most famous work is *The Wretched of the Earth* which, for the time, was brilliant and with breakthrough concepts. I really have to just give praise where praise is due.

Anyway, I would like to answer this question in a way that's embodied, rather than hurling about generalizations and sociological language. I'd like to do it by talking about Jorge. Jorge grew up on an *ejido*, which were land-based communities. Many of the Native groups of Mexico have, through the years and through the various forms of colonization, been scattered and the *ejidos* were formed after the Mexican Revolution of 1910-1920. Groups of people received land that they could live on in a communal and sustainable fashion, land many had lost to the rich *haciendas* that grew up through various imperial structures—railroads, silver mining, and plantations that fed into the world commodity market. Jorge was born in the mid-1950s. At that time the *ejido* was still a sustainable unit. He grew up growing corn. Los Mochis is 15 miles from the Sea of Cortez, just inland from the Pacific Ocean. He grew up fishing and raising cattle—so he's a man of the land. He grew up dancing the dances of his *ejido*.

I have witnessed him enduring colonization. There's the historic colonization of him, his people, and other land-based people within Mexico, and its ongoing effects. And there's the colonization that's taking place right now through the global economy, in which massive numbers of peoples around the world are made to leave their homelands just for sheer survival, oftentimes at risk to their lives and oftentimes for work in which they reside at the bottom of the social order. I witnessed Jorge being taken into involuntary servitude by a local Chicano man who not so long ago was the butt of colonization himself. I saw him being made to work ten, twelve hours a day for weeks on end to pay back a fictitious debt. Where was Jorge going to find the money to buy food in this situation? How was his family going to get the money to eat? These were not questions on this man's mind. I've witnessed him without money in his pocket, without a means to get around, constantly being on the lookout for the police. I've talked with him at great length about his experience of coming over the border, which is highly militarized with all kinds of high-tech surveillance equipment, helicopters, unmanned airplanes, government patrols, and now self-appointed vigilante patrols of right-wing ranchers. Jorge has experienced all that. He's experienced being deported 20 times—and yet he is one of the most integrated, moral human beings I've ever met. The trauma is ongoing—

# ...and Living My Life

and yet he never waivers. His every act is something that he judges by the morality of the implications of what he's going to do—in every single act, every single relationship. The ongoing trauma seems to bounce right off of him. I mean, he is *struggling*, but it's not cracking to his core. I attribute this to the way he grew up—in a culture that was coherent and making its way on the land. There is a relationship between that coherence and the relationship to the land. Human beings are finally completely human when the environment in which we live is the natural world, and where that separation is minimized, hopefully to the point where it simply doesn't exist.

So, you and I who hail from the dominant society—who don't have the benefit of having grown up being held by our mothers, fathers, sisters, aunts, uncles, cousins, passed around in a culture where people were actively involved in the process of garnering food from the land, coming into consciousness in an environment where the birds and mother's hair are a single experience—*how goes the healing?*

One part of healing is being able to stand up for oneself. I see political action as not only being effective in making external changes, but also being psychologically effective. That's what Frantz Fanon was saying, although he was speaking specifically of violence. I'm rather saying that it's *any* kind of standing up for oneself in the political arena, whatever form it takes. And of course, healing is about recreating our cultures, coming back to place, coming back to family. Maybe for many of us, our families are so shattered and disjointed that it's not possible to come back to them, but I mean coming back to family in new forms. And creating the rituals that will reconnect us. Creating the ways to find and procure food in our places—these are all absolutely crucial. Understanding what sovereignty is all about. As soon as you begin to know the sovereigness of your place, then you do come up against the fact that it's being invaded by the global economy—and we're back to standing up for oneself.

I want to add something about healing that comes from my experience as a psychotherapist. I specialize in trauma recovery, the ways in which each one of us have been harmed, have been traumatized. Whether you were raped, or the school teacher beat you with a stick, or you were a soldier in war and you witnessed unspeakable violations, or perhaps were made to enact unspeakable violations—however it is that trauma came into your system, it has to be expiated in the same way. Specifically, it has to be expiated through the telling

*“One part of healing from trauma is being able to stand up for oneself. I see political action as not only being effective in making external changes, but also being psychologically effective.”*

of the actual stories. In the case of people whose experiences have been repressed, because they were so terrible that the nervous system was unable to handle them, the stories must be remembered. With what people, in what place, with what technologies the trauma occurred. In other words, to enter into a land-based community, to create an intentional community, to have a consensus process, to have your own garden—these are things that are *very* healing and *very* important. But if you have specific ways in which you have been traumatized, then you must embark upon a psychological, perhaps body-oriented, perhaps homeopathic process in which whatever has been fragmented and cast aside is reintegrated into your psyche—so that you may become the beautiful and whole person you were meant to be.

As a psychotherapist, I see that healing process as a political act as well, to allow for a healing process, to come back into a wholeness that was ripped from us by the politics of civilization.

**GA:** *In the newest edition of Off The Map, you have extended your amazingly provocative sixty-year timeline of global capital (and your relationship to it), past 1999, to include some of the more recent resistance to globalization, and also the events of September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001. Do you think that Sept. 11<sup>th</sup> has opened up more opportunities for people to question fundamentally the mechanizations of power?*

**Chellis:** As we know, September 11<sup>th</sup> opened up the American psyche for more patriotism, more red-white-and-blue, more defensiveness around Wall Street corporations and the American way of life. But, at the same time, it ripped open the political psyche of this country to connect us with a certain urgency, a certain clarity of language, a certain need to act. I have lived on this Earth for 56 years.

I started my political work in the civil rights movement in the 1950s. I have seen the anti-war movement, the feminist movement, the development of holistic health and the natural foods movements, the environmental movement, indigenous rights and bioregionalism, immigration rights—all these movements. Then there was a malaise that came over us. I think part of it was fatigue after the '60s. Part of it was the natural co-optation that takes place in a commercial society that picks up themes that are radical and neutralizes them.

Part of it was a backlash against the '60s, the right-wing '80s politics of Ronald Reagan, George Bush I, George Bush II, the rise of Wall Street, and the final fruition of the global economy which had been in the making since 1944. I have lived through periods of great upheaval and great awareness, times when language truly put words onto power relations. And I have lived through decades of malaise, where people who had been radical before fell back into whatever comforts and distractions can be found in American commercial society. Now, there is a clarity again.

**GA:** *How effective do you feel the environmental and anti-globalization movements have been in slowing down the assault on life and the proliferation of the global economy?*

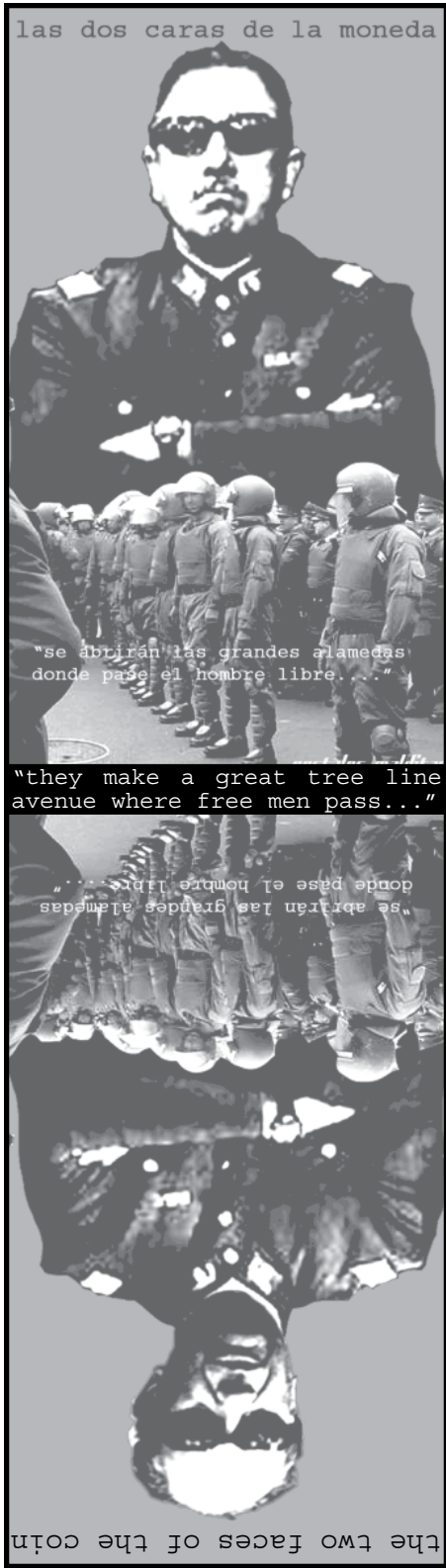
**Chellis:** Here in northern New Mexico, I can say things have gotten worse. Whatever fighting we've done has not saved the *acequias* or our communities or the animals or the air. But we're residing at an interesting point in history! As people living in the United States of America, we are now linking to radical perspectives and peoples around the world, and this is an incredible gift. Where this is all going, I cannot say. I don't think there's anybody who is reading this periodical who doesn't already know that we are in a life-or-death situation. Most of the forces are pushed toward death, and so there is nothing for us to do but to allow for life, to push for life, to fight for life, and to do that in every moment of our lives. Whether we are battling the forces-that-be or we are sharing kindness to someone on the road, or we are in a process of personal healing—all of these things are political acts.

*\*Our next issue—Winter (#15), will feature Part II of our interview with Chellis Glendinning, in which we ask her questions pertaining to: trauma, addiction, abuse, ecological destruction, technology, alienation, western civilization, imperialism, concepts of abstraction (maps, borders, cybernetics), eco-feminism... well that should be more than enough.*

*\*Off the Map is in bookstores. My Name is Chellis and I'm In Recovery From Western Civilization can be ordered from a bookstore or via [underthesurface@clerk.com](mailto:underthesurface@clerk.com)*

*\*Also, check-out: U. S. Off The Planet: An Evening With Ward Churchill And Chellis Glendinning, a wonderful documentation of two speeches delivered by Ward and Chellis on June 17th, 2001, for the two year anniversary of the anti-capitalist insurgency in Eugene. Available from the Green Anarchy Distro on CD or Video (see page 35).*





**T**HE SEPTEMBER 11<sup>TH</sup> MILITARY COUP OF 1973 ended an electoral democratic system in Chile which had functioned with few interruptions since 1830. It also exposed the real character of representative-electoral democracy. Experience shows that anytime there is an attempt to reform the system in a drastic way, like the socialist reforms of Allende, the reactionary forces unleash the army—and the cops—to repress the population and to retake political control of the territories marked by the national-state’s borders. Reactionary forces operate with the monetary, military and political help of corporate capital, establishing alliances between the Latin American national elites and imperialist power.

The coup in Chile was not only fostered by multinational corporations, but by the US. In 1998 Clinton opened the files that finally proved what everybody knew: the Chilean coup was part of a plan of intervention of the CIA and the White House. The form this intervention took in Chile was through a sort of neo-fascism. The form it is taking now in Venezuela is through corporate and media boycotts in order to create a civil war. The form it is taking in Colombia is through military and logistic support. The form it took in Grenada was the military invasion. The form it is taking in Bolivia is through austerity measures. The form it has taken in Mexico was through territorial control and currently through the North American Free Trade Agreement. These experiences show the limits of representative democracy. The real plutocratic nature of the representative democratic system is based on money and interests in strategic bioregions. In 1970, socialist elected President Salvador Allende tried to create Socialism in a Chilean way, the so-called “*vía chilena al socialismo*.”

# Barbarism or Authoritarianism

## (33 Years of Chilean History and the Failure of the Left) by Jesús Sepúlveda

This Chilean way was a peaceful transition toward a better society through elections and confidence in parliamentary power. Allende refused to arm civilians when one of the most influential and radical groups of the time, the MIR (Revolutionary Movement of the Left), asked him to do so. On the contrary, leftist leaders of Allende’s government supported the politics of ‘popular fronts.’ Founding popular fronts of wide ranges of progressive social groups in order to win all electoral scenarios was the international platform of communist parties around the world. Most of the time, popular fronts ended up in brutal repression. Political alliances are not strong enough to resist military coups, military interventions, genocides, ecocides, et cetera. The Pinochet regime ended a naïve democratic dream which believed it was possible to transform the plutocratic system into a truly democratic social coexistence.

In 1936 this dream ended up in a nightmare when Franco destroyed the Spanish Republic and put himself in power until 1977. This also happened in Brazil in 1964 when João Goulart’s progressive government was also overthrown by a military coup monitored by the CIA. Latin America as an area of geo-political interests has been controlled directly by US imperialism through the training given to officers and high rank military agents in the “School of the Americas”. Liberals and social democrats in Chile believed in the constitutional spirit of the army. But the only Constitution the army respects is that which defends the rich and the interests of powerful people. Not understanding this is not only naïve, but suicidal. This naïveté was the failure of the left—which cost thousands of lives and drove the left itself toward political suicide. The leftovers of this left are represented by the current Chilean President, the so-called socialist, Ricardo Lagos, and the Brazilian President and leader of the Workers Party, Luis Inácio “Lula” da Silva. These two governments got into power compromising the lives of people and their environment to the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the Interamerican Development Bank. Thus, the electoral system cannot be reformed in a radical way because monetary interest is its main concern. Indeed, all systems tend to perpetuate the mechanisms of power that allow their own existence. In this sense, the left also failed because the main issue on its agenda was taking power instead of abolishing it. As the Bolivian anarchist poet, Humberto Quino, said: “in order to abolish *coups de états*, it is necessary to abolish the state.” In order to eliminate military coups it is necessary to eliminate the army and the state.

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The Chilean military dictatorship imposed a terrorist state regime which physically eliminated the urban guerrilla resistance in three years. The Chilean military regime imposed a ‘panoptic society of control’ based on surveillance, domiciliation and imprisonment. After three years of bloody repression, the military junta kept forcing people to be at home through the curfew as well as through the propaganda machine, passing anti-terrorist laws, and creating a state of permanent paranoid alarm. Domiciliation is a tactic of *domination*—which forces civil social life and public practices to uniformity. This laboratory of power relies on the imprisonment system, which, in the Chilean case, adopted three forms: jailing opponents of the regime; sending political prisoners to concentrations camps or places of

relegation in rural and faraway locations; and using unknown places for detention. In these unknown places, torture and kidnapping with the result of death were mainly practiced. In the 1991 report of the “Truth and Reconciliation” Commission, presided over by Raúl Rettig, there were around 3,500 documented cases of political prisoners, who were either executed or who “disappeared” during the military regime. In Argentina there were around 30,000 cases.

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The Chilean military dictatorship not only imposed a panoptic society of control, but also a neoliberal model based on the so-called ‘popular capitalism.’ The experts who experimented with this model in Chile studied in the Business School in Chicago under the gable of Milton Friedman. The trickle-down economics applied in Chile in the seventies has been nurturing the model for the New World Order and Imperial expansion through Globalization.

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According to Greg Palast, under the spell of the Chicago Boys’ theories, the Pinochet regime “abolished the minimum wage, outlawed trade union bargaining rights, privatized the pension system, abolished all taxes on wealth and on business profits, slashed public employment, privatized 212 state industries and 66 banks and ran a fiscal surplus.” This is the “neoliberal” model, the so-called free market, which runs the world.

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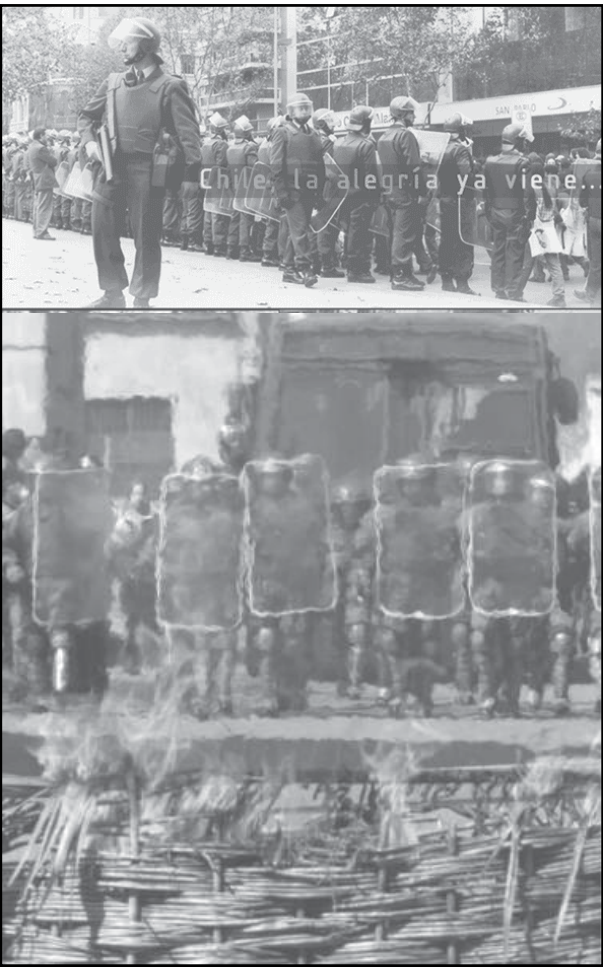
Homogenization and uniformity were indeed the goals of the regime since its beginning. Chilean writer Volodia Teitelboim recalls that on September 11, 1973, “soldiers lighted bonfires, burning 20 original manuscripts of Chilean authors and destroying around 20 million books from the *Quimantú* publishing house (the biggest editorial house in Chile at that time), plus 1 million, 100 thousand books in the process of being printed. University and union libraries were also devastated and there were raids (*allanamientos*) of private houses to make sure that there was no ‘subversive’ literature. High schools were prohibited to study topics such as Human Geography, World History and the French Revolution because it could cause political discussions.”

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Before the imminent institutionalization of the regime and the failure of political negotiations, the Communist Party decided in 1982 to form a political-military organization to carry out the politics of popular rebellion. Frente Patriótico Manuel Rodríguez [Manuel Rodríguez Patriotic Front] was named after the guerrilla fighter of Chilean Independence in 1810. The FPMR had an enormous logistic capacity of operation, such as: bank robbery, kidnapping military officers, rescue of prisoners from jail, smuggling weapons inside the country, and realizing the assassination attempt of Pinochet in 1986. In December 1982 a splinter group of the United Popular Action Movement, MAPU-Lautaro, emerged. Lautaro was a Mapuche Indian guerrilla who led a rebellion against the Spanish colonizers in the XVI century. MAPU-Lautaro’s main actions were directed to looting chain stores, actions of expropriation, and murdering cops. Also, by the beginning of the ‘80s, the MIR was reorganized. Through the creation of Miguel Enríquez Rebel Youth, named after the MIR founder and leader who died in a six-hour shootout in 1975 in a poor neighborhood in South Santiago, the MIR grew rapidly among young people. These three groups coordinated their actions through a Revolutionary Coordination, establishing that 1986 was going to be the ‘decisive year’ for the insurrection. Since national protests sprung up in 1983—after two hunger marches in December 1982, and March 1983—and kept going almost every month for three years with no interruptions, the whole country was going in the direction of a civil war. In July 1983, the first civilian minister of the Pinochet regime, Sergio Onofre Jarpa, occupied Santiago with 18,000 soldiers. At each protest there were hundreds of deaths, but the opposition and confrontation against the regime became direct. Denunciation and selective repression were no longer an effective means of intimidation. Protests started with people lighting candles and banging on cooking pots at 8:00 p.m. And by 10:00 p.m. direct actions were being carried out in the form of city blackouts and barricades. There were also student and worker strikes, and in poor neighborhoods and shantytowns (*poblaciones*) the territories were liberated and police were afraid to be in the peripheral areas. Cops were hung from light posts at night.

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It was the FPMR’s Command September 4<sup>th</sup> that attacked Pinochet on September 7<sup>th</sup>, 1986, in the Andean foothill area of Melocotón. The plan was to create a crisis of leadership inside the regime by killing Pinochet. After Pinochet’s death, the plan was to take main cities from peripheral areas in the direction of power centers. In that context tons of weapons



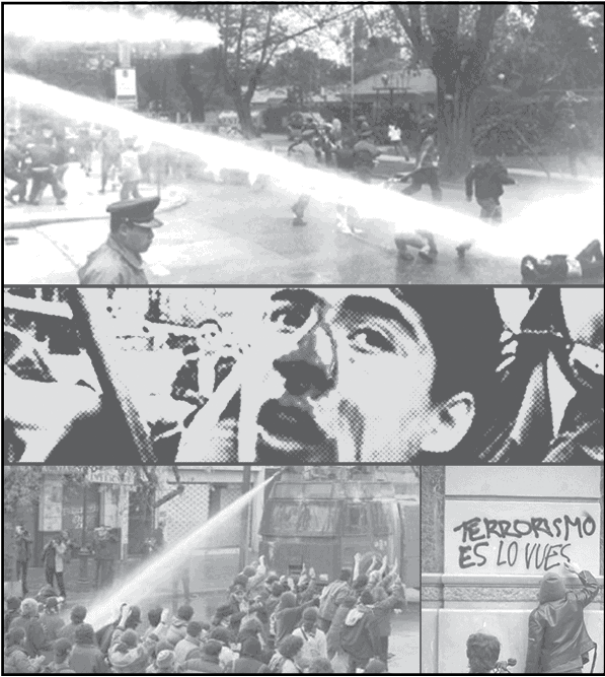


were smuggled inside the country by ocean then through the Northern desert of Atacama. Centrists and social democrats came out then with a political way out through a referendum, which took place in 1988, in order to avoid the coming revolution. They compromised with the regime to isolate the Revolutionary Coordination, to demobilize people toward a ‘civilized’ way of opposition, and to not process any officer for his responsibility in the cases of torture and disappearance. Since the rocket that hit Pinochet’s car didn’t explode, the whole plan of the Revolutionary Coordination failed. After the assassination attempt there was severe repression and most militants had to go underground. Others were killed. Protests decreased and by the end of 1987 they were totally controlled by liberals, centrists and social democrats, who initiated rallies as a main form of opposition and political action. This opposition won referendum and the election the next year, getting into office Christian democrat Patricio Aylwin. The opponent centrist organization, Democratic Alliance, became the current governmental coalition in power, Coalition of Parties for Democracy (Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia). And the left divided into moderate and hard-core positions. Unfortunately, the lives of many people and the history of a whole country were depending on a rocket badly shot.

Centrist negotiation, military capitulation and left division were the new scenario after the referendum in 1988, burying the revolts. Most radical people at that time felt frustrated because it was obvious that centrists, social democrats, and some leftists gave in for a political way out, which was not going to produce radical changes in Chile. Negotiation kept business as usual with some civilian ornamentation. Hard-core protesters found more individual ways to operate and started questioning the authoritarian, hierarchical and vertical structure of political organizations. There was a profound critique of political parties and different collectives sprung up spontaneously. This situation allowed the emergence of a rebel culture that distrusted the system and felt betrayed by the left. Some of the people who formed part of this counter-culture accomplished political, social and cultural work in an autonomous way, with an anarchist and nihilistic perspective. Self-management initiatives for autonomy happened in *poblaciones* and combative universities. In the Metropolitan University of Santiago—the former Pedagógico—the group ‘Vanguard’ animated long battles with police from inside the campus, responding with molotov-cocktails to the police tear gas. There were improvised magazines, *fanzines* and books published at the same time that a new consciousness started. Freedom was more valued than political agendas or plans for taking over the power. The desire was to dismantle power and authority—crystallized in the state—and feel free. Maybe the Argentine uprising of December 2001 that overthrew three presidents in a row represents on a mass scale this feeling. In fact, the sensibility of this rebel culture of the late ‘80s in Chile was highly resistant to civilian values fostered by the new political dominant group, and highly aggressive against any military symbol. From academia the supposedly derogatory adjective “barbarian” came to name this new and isolated counterculture because of its undomesticated and bohemian nature, which never really dissipated.

The so-called ‘democratic transition’ in Chile has lasted 13 years (from 1990 to today). There have been three presidents since then. All of them are from the government Coalition of Parties for Democracy. Simultaneously, Pinochet was the commander in chief of the army until his arrest in London in 1998. That ended up a sui generis transition with the dictator still in power. The third President of the current government is Ricardo Lagos, a member of the Socialist Party. Lagos was the one who negotiated the return of Pinochet to Chile, so he wouldn’t be extradited to Spain

to be judged as a criminal against humanity. Last year Lagos’ government violently repressed several Mapuche Indian communities in Southern Chile to capture members of the Mapuche resistance. This year Lagos signed a Free Trade Agreement with the US. The neoliberal model runs the country, while the left still talks about taking power and running the state. However, a new movement flows, creating a new type of resistance. The Mapuche renaissance is crucial in this process as well as the anti-authoritarian movement in urban spots. This new resistance grows organically more than in terms of organizations. It doesn’t have leaders and it is not in search of power. It has also a non-hierarchical perspective and an indigenous community-based orientation.



The Mapuche movement in Southern Chile and Argentina is reclaiming the land taken from the native people centuries ago, and resisting the building project of six dams in the Mapuche region. The Mapuche fight is also for autonomy and non-intervention of Chilean and Argentine states in their territories. They want to maintain their community-based lifestyle focused on self-sufficiency rather than working in sweatshops

to be able to buy plastic products. This struggle against western penetration goes beyond the nation-state projects of development and shows a way to go in future struggles. The socialist government has strongly repressed some Mapuche communities, even killing young activists. Radical actions have been the response of Mapuche people, including burning state installations and private land. The Zapatista movement learnt from the Mayan communities a new way of resistance, more focus on autonomy and self-sufficiency than on taking power and imposing a State model in Mexico. The Mayan experience in Chiapas has been a new matrix for the EZLN, which started as a classic Marxist guerrilla group. There are no platforms for the resistance, so there shouldn’t be organizers of people either. The movement grows organically, and people organize themselves. Mutual agreements without ideological barriers are more liberating than the agendas of political parties. The beat of the planet is the only one who should be keeping the motion awake, and not the mechanized imperial industrial labyrinth.

The corrupt neoliberal ‘democratic transition’ has failed the Chilean people. The social gap, unemployment and marginality are still the main social issues in Chilean society, although today there are also enormous problems of alienation, pollution, natural devastation and mental illnesses as well. This is indeed the failure of an unsustainable system, which overlooks the radical problem of Chile’s foundation: colonization and industrialism. It seems fundamental that political interaction with social-empirical reality has to be based on autonomy rather than on power, and self- sustainability rather than on a “global-market” industrial platform. The left has never acknowledged this matter. Maybe through a deeper analysis of Chile’s history in the last 33 years, more vital forms of political thought can emerge and be shared by fighters of other bioregions.

## FORWARD GUERRILLAS

Luis Felipe de la Puente  
hope of a thousand assaulted peoples  
has died in the relentless maws  
turning his final face toward danger  
his blood his heart dredged with cause.

But he fired this brilliant torch  
hostile light of our revolution  
and kindled the shout Let cowards die!  
inside no fear of anything or body  
we shall make good that cry.

Forward Guerrillas!  
carry on the vast construction  
history left half built on our soil  
let our anger beat in their ears  
to the funeral roll and flash of fire.

Forward Guerrillas!  
Now is the time amigos  
injustice poverty pain  
anguish and groaning be closed  
and in themselves for ever slain.

Nothing holds back now the godless are  
desperate  
they know across the hour of the New  
the fields the flowers the wind  
the sierras the rivers will be ours.

Then our thing will fly  
another light will light our street  
no more hunger and poverty  
that miserable and ugly trick  
we let happen in the past.

Forward Guerrillas  
you are the full sails of glory  
the passage of years to come  
and the heart beat of history  
has to tell us that

Onward valiant and warborn guerrillas

—This anonymous poem is taken from a mimeographed student broadsheet, *Rebelion* (feb.1966). It pays honor to Peruvian revolutionary Luis de la Puente, who was specific in his call to Peruvian University students to join the revolutionary struggle as guerrillas.

August 2003.

## Nationalism or Community?

### Fragment #20 from the Garden of Peculiarities

In order to deterritorialize the state it is imperative to oppose militarism and its ideological base—the idea of the nation state. If it were possible to suppress the imaginary of the imagined community, those which exist in the diverse nation-building projects, community would become a real group of people with faces and identifiable names. Its daily interaction would be on a human scale, and the community would truly exist. In this way the state would be deterritorialized.

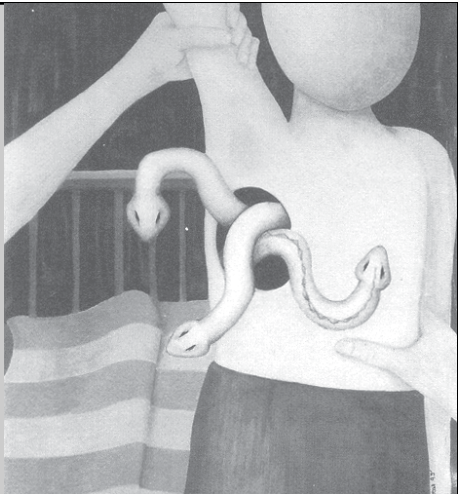
The idea of the nation state is linked to the idea of race: the foundation of xenophobia and racism. The state has never stopped being a classist and racist instrument of control and oppression. Its territorialization occurs through the movement and deployment of armed forces. In order to dissolve the state it is necessary to dismantle militarism and the arms industry. The state operates as if it were a great national warehouse that invests in warlike exercises: wars. With the dissolution of the state the nation is deterritorialized, and borders lose their reality, becoming what they are: artificial limits constructed by the high-priests of all kinds of nationalisms and regionalisms. These limits are the political bonds imposed by the state on its subjects. Nationalism continues to subjugate people through the sedentary practices derived as much through urban control as through the territorial economy of agriculture. The effect of these practices is domiciliation, which attaches itself to the domesticating action of the state. Notwithstanding, when the apparatus that promotes the concept of national territory dissolves, one of the mechanisms of standardization also stops functioning. To move freely from one zone to another—from community to community—without being subject to customs or police controls, brings with it a freedom that is embodied in daily practice. Constant movement is an uncontrollable force. Its libertarian character is found in its capacity to abolish sedentarism and domiciliation, destroying all state control. To displace oneself is to undomesticate oneself. Going from one place to another, meeting people, learning their languages and understanding different visions of the world is a liberating praxis. This praxis sharpens peculiarity.

Fascism is fomented by nationalism: a feeling of national property exacerbated by the possessing and monied classes. This feeling is transferred to the dispossessed and poor of the cities through the mechanisms of civic, official and national propaganda and indoctrination.

Some people, for example, repeat discourses that are spread by ideology in the first person plural. The verb is conjugated as “we,” promoting an idiomatic control and reinforcing identifications between country, flag, government and people. To say, for example, “we have a park, a mountain range, a good sports team, or a stable economy,” implies a kind of linguistic acceptance of an imposed and/or assigned collective national identity. This is the royal we, adapted to modern times to make the people think that the government and its financial institutions represent the common individual.

People speak of the actions of the government as if they have had some participation in governmental decisions or in the use of military repression. This is the nationalist alienation that facilitates the appearance of fascism. Indoctrination is reproduced through schools, sports, traditional values, rules, official narratives and means of control. Propaganda is brought to life through luminous screens (television, movies, information technology, etc.), the press, radio, education, etc. Fascism is crystallized through the notion of nation. Because of this, all assigned and/or imposed notions of community identity tend to reinforce said notions: nationality, regionalism, language, social role, professional relationships, religious beliefs, familial clans, brotherhoods and orders, work relationships, job or profession, etc.

Real community does not walk the path of these applied identities. Real community has to do with camaraderie and friendship. And it isn’t difficult to imagine. Those who constitute it are those family and friends we see daily and with whom we prefer to relate and enjoy every day. There, everyday solidarity is experienced and the presence of the state is negated. There, mutual recognition and true respect exist. There also, borders are deterritorialized, and the torpid banners of xenophobia are bravely repelled.



**Note: Sections of Jesús Sepúlveda’s *Garden of Peculiarities* are featured regularly in *Green Anarchy*. The book’s 2<sup>nd</sup> edition will be released in Chile this December, and an English translation will be released next fall by Feral House. Stay tuned more for details.**



THE DESTRUCTION OF THE CONTINENT  
AND ITS PEOPLES

# Progress & Nuclear Power

BY FREDY PERLMAN

**GA Note: I was reading this classic Perlman article (from the Phoenix Press compilation *Anything Can Happen*) while on an Amtrak train called the *Empire Builder*. I'm not shitting you. Just as I finished the essay, as we rolled through the high grasslands of eastern Montana, the engineer informed us of the train's name...and something clicked. We NEED to print this, I thought. I was riding from Philadelphia, where I grew up, back to my home in Oregon. I was, purely coincidentally (yet maybe not), tracing the steps of early American expansionism on one of its most significant tools, the train. Serendipity usually brings warm fuzzy feelings to me, but this time it was dark and putrid, and I was embarrassed to be riding on this symbol of 19<sup>th</sup> Century conquest. This essay, like much of Perlman's work, is even more poignant today, as we face, perhaps, the darkest hours of global domination. Eighteen years after his death, a whole generation has much to learn from this great influence on the anti-civilization perspective. Offering amazing insight into industrialism, the nation-state, imperialism, genocide, ecocide, and power, Perlman, no doubt, could have foreseen how much worse things would get, that is, unless the mega-machine, this Leviathan, was destroyed. This essay was written in 1979, soon after the nuclear accident at Three Mile Island. Even with the reference to that specific event, it is more relevant today than ever.**

THE PREMEDITATED POISONING OF HUMAN BEINGS, OF SOILS and of other living species can only by the grossest hypocrisy be considered an "accident." Only the wilfully blind can claim that this consequence of Technical Progress was "unforeseen."

The poisoning and removal of this continent's living inhabitants for the sake of "higher entities" may have begun in Eastern Pennsylvania, but not during the past few weeks.

Eleven score years ago, in the region currently being poisoned by radiation from Three Mile Island, speculators with names like Franklin, Morris, Washington and Hale hid their names behind facades such as the Vandalia Company and the Ohio Company. These companies had one purpose: to sell land for a profit. The individuals behind the companies had one aim: to remove all obstacles which stood in the way of the free deployment of profit-making, whether the obstacles were human beings or millennial cultures or forests or animals or even streams and mountains. Their aim was to Civilize this continent, to introduce to it a cycle of activities never before practiced here: Working, Saving, Investing, Selling — the cycle of reproducing and enlarging Capital.

The main obstacle to this activity consisted of human beings who had lived on this continent for millennia and who, without Law or Government or Church, enjoyed the sun, the streams, the woodlands, the varied species of plant and animal, and each other. These people considered life an end, not a means to be put at the service of "higher" ends. They did not flock to Civilization like children to a cookie jar, as the Franklins and Washingtons expected them to do. On the contrary. They wanted very little of what Civilization had to give. They wanted some of the weapons, and they wanted these only to preserve their freedom against further encroachments of Civilization; they preferred death to a life reduced to Working, Saving, Investing and Selling. In a final desperate attempt to drive Civilization and its Benefits to the sea and across it, in an uprising currently remembered as the name of an automobile, their warriors ousted land grabbers and their soldiers from Ontario, Michigan, Ohio and western Pennsylvania. For this uncompromising resistance they earned from the Civilized the title of Savages. This title gave the Civilizers a license to exterminate without qualm or scruple; "Send them pox-infested blankets," ordered one of the commanders in charge of the extermination.

The recently celebrated Bicentennial of American Independence commemorated the day when, tenscore years ago, land grabbers, speculators and their allies determined to accelerate the extermination of independence from the region west of Three Mile Island. The King's government was too distant to protect investments adequately, and in any case it was Feudal and didn't always share the speculators' aims; it even went so far as to enforce the boundaries established by treaties with the Savages. What was needed was an efficient apparatus under the direct control of the land grabbers and devoted exclusively to the prosperity of their enterprises. Informal frontier police organizations like the Paxton Boys were efficient for the massacre of the tribal inhabitants of an isolated village like Conestoga. But such frontier formations were small and temporary, and they were as dependent on the active consent of each participant as the tribal warriors themselves; therefore they were not proper police organizations at all. The speculators allied themselves with idealists and

dreamers, and behind a banner on which was inscribed Freedom, Independence and Happiness, took the power of government, military and police into their own hands.

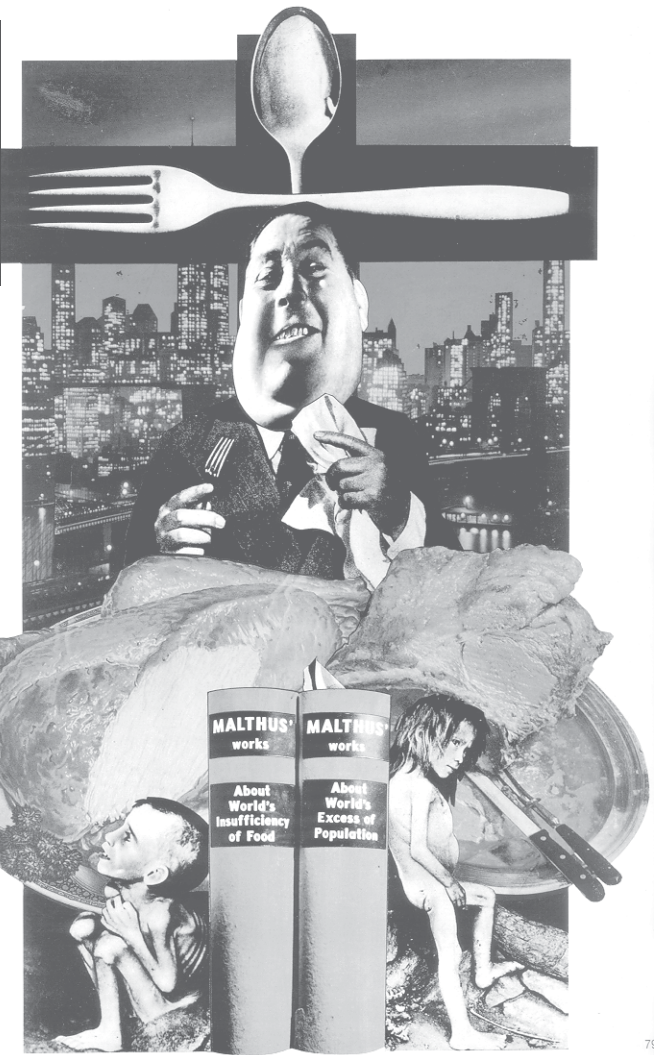
One and half centuries ago, the efficient apparatus for the progress of Capital was in high gear. Military and police organizations based on obedience and submission, and not on anyone's active consent, were ready to go into action against people who had resisted that type of regimentation for twenty thousand years if not longer. Congress passed one of its most explicit bits of legislation: The Indian Removal Act. Within a few years, all resistance, all activity which was not the activity of Capital, was removed from the area stretching westward from Three Mile Island to the Mississippi, southward from Michigan to Georgia. The Government, quickly becoming one of the most powerful in the world, was no longer restricted to poisoning with pox or to the surprise massacre of villagers; it implemented the Removal with a judicious combination of Platitudes, Promises and Police. The remaining free tribespeople could not resist this combination without adopting it, but they could not adopt it without ceasing to be free. They chose to remain free, and the last free human beings between Three Mile Island and the Mississippi were Removed.

As settlers moved into the deliberately vacated lands where the very air they breathed gave them a taste of the recently eliminated freedom, they transformed vast woodlands into enlarged replicas of the hell they had left behind. The enjoyment of trails and forests ceased; the forests were burned; the trails became obstacle courses to be traversed as rapidly as Capital made possible. The variety of hundreds of cultural forms was reduced to the uniformity of a unique routine: work, save, invest, sell, every day from sunrise to sunset, and count money after sundown. Every previous activity, and scores of new ones, were transformed from sources of joy to sources of profit. Corn, beans and squash, the "three sisters" respected and loved by the region's previous inhabitants, became mere commodities for sale at food markets; their sowers and harvesters no longer grew them to enjoy at meals, feasts and festivals, but to sell for a profit. Leisurely gardening was replaced by the hard work of farming, trails gave way to rails, walking was superseded by the locomotion of gigantic coal-burning furnaces on wheels, canoes were swept aside by floating cities which stopped for no obstacle as they filled the air with burning embers and black smoke. The "three sisters," along with the rest of their family, were degraded to mere merchandise, as were the trees that became lumber, the animals that became meat, and even the journeys, the songs, the myths and tales of the continent's new inhabitants.

And new inhabitants there were; at first hundreds, then thousands, finally millions. When the importation of outright slaves finally ended, surplus peasants were imported from the run-down estates of post-feudal Europe. Their ancestors hadn't known freedom for so many generations that the very memory of it had been lost. Formerly liveried domestics or farmhands on the estates of increasingly commercial lords, the newcomers arrived already trained to want precisely what Capital had to offer, and the degradation of life imposed by Capital was freedom to them when compared to their only frame of reference. Sold plots by land investors, transported to the plots by railway investors, equipped by farm implement investors, financed by bank investors, furnished and clothed by the same interests, often by the very same Houses who had provided



them with everything else at a rate of profit no previous age would have regarded as "just," they boastfully wrote their relatives in the old country that they had become their own lords, that they were free farmers but in the pits of their stomachs and in the missed beat of their hearts they felt the truth: they were slaves of a master who was even more intractable, inhuman and removed than their former lords, a master whose lethal power, like radioactivity's, could be felt but not seen. They had become the liveried domestics of Capital.



(As for those who ended up as "operatives" or "unskilled hands" in the factories that produced the implements and the rails: they had little to boast of in their letters; they had breathed freer air wherever they had started from.)

A century after the uprising associated with the name of Pontiac, a century filled with desperate resistance by Pontiac's successors against the further encroachments of Capital, some of the imported farmers began to fight against their reduction to servants of railroad, equipment and finance Capital. The populist farmers burned to arrest and lock up the Rockefellers, Morgans and Goulds directly responsible for their degradation, but their revolt was only a faint echo of the earlier revolt of Ottawas, Chippewas, Delawares and Potawatomes. The farmers turned against the personalities but continued to share the culture responsible for their degradation. Consequently they failed to unite with, or even recognize as their own, the armed resistance of the plains people, the last attempt to keep the entire continent from being turned into an island of Capital—a struggle defeated by ancient Assyrian (and modern Soviet Socialist) methods of mass deportation, concentration camps, massacres of unarmed prisoners, and unabated brainwashing by military and missionary goons.

Militant and courageous though many of them were, the struggling farmers rarely placed enjoyment and life above work, savings and profit, and their movement was derailed altogether when radical politicians infiltrated it and equated the desire for a new life with the desire for a new Leader. The form of derailment of the Populist movement became the form of existence of the Labor movement during the century that followed. The politicians who dug the grave of populism were the forerunners of the infinite assortment of monkish sects, modelled organizationally on the Jesuit Order but deriving doctrine and dogma from one or another communist, socialist or anarchist Book. Ready to leap at an instant's notice into any situation where people began to struggle to regain their own humanity, they squelched one after another potential rebellion by dumping their doctrine, their organization and their leadership on top of people struggling for life. These clowns, for whom all that was missing was their mugs and speeches on the front pages of newspapers, finally became capitalists who took to market the unique commodity they had cornered: Labor.

Shortly before the turn of the present century, with effective resistance permanently removed, with a pseudo-resistance which was in fact an instrument for the final reduction of human activity to a mere variable of Capital, the efficient apparatus for the generation of profits lost all external obstacles. It still had internal obstacles: the various fractions of Capital, the Vanderbilts, Goulds and Morgans, continually turned their guns against each other and threatened to topple the whole structure from within. Rockefeller and Morgan pioneered the merger, the combination of the various fractions: monied investors distributed their monies throughout each other's enterprises; directors sat on each other's boards; and each and all acquired an interest in the unrestricted march of every unit of the entire apparatus. With the exception of rare surviving personal and family empires, the enterprises were directed by mere hirelings who differed from the rest of the hands mainly by the size of their emoluments. The task of the directors was to ride over all obstacles, human and natural, with only one limitation: the efficient operation of the other enterprises collectively constituting Capital.





Twoscore years ago, the researches of physical and chemical sciences at the disposal of Capital led to the discovery that the gross substances above and below the soil were not the only substances exploitable for profits. It appeared that the “liberated” nuclei of certain substances were eminently exploitable by Capital. The destruction of matter at the atomic level, first used as the most hideous weapon hitherto wrought by human beings, became the newest commodity. By this time the interest payments, freight fees and equipment purchases of farmers, as well as the long-vanished trees and forest animals, had ceased to be interesting as sources of significant profits. Energy companies interlocked with uranium and oil monopolies became empires more powerful than any of the states which served them as trouble-shooters. Within the computers of these empires, the health and lives of an “acceptable” number of farm and city dwellers was balanced against an “acceptable” gain or loss of profits. Potential popular responses to such calculations were controlled by judicious combinations of platitudes, promises and police.

- The poisoning of people in Eastern Pennsylvania with cancer-inducing radiation by a system that devotes a substantial portion of its activity to “defense” against nuclear assault from abroad—

- The contamination of food which is to be consumed by the continent’s remaining inhabitants, and the destruction of the prospects of farmers who had dutifully devoted their lives to growing the merchandise interesting to Capital at a stage which ended half a century ago—

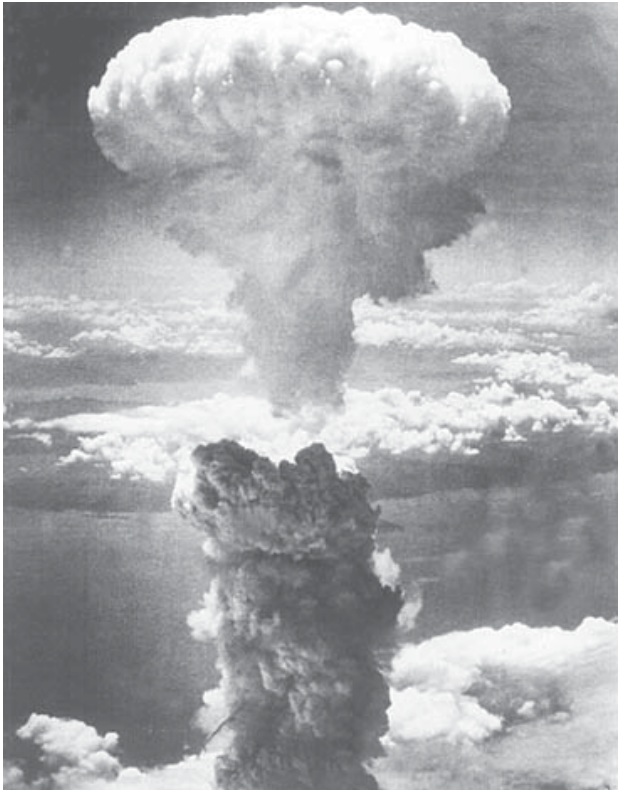
- The transformation into a literal minefield, using unprecedented lethal poisons and explosives, of a continent once peopled by human beings whose aim in life was to enjoy the air, sun, trees, animals and each other—

- The prospect of a continent covered with raging infernos, their loudspeakers reciting their recorded messages to the charred earth: “There is no need to overreact; the situation is stable; the leaders have everything under control—

—all this is no accident. It is the present stage of progress of Technology, alias Capital, called Frankenstein by Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley, considered “neutral” by aspiring managers burning to get their “revolutionary” hands on the controls. For two hundred years Capital developed by destroying nature, by removing and destroying human beings. Capital has now begun a frontal attack on its own domestics; its computers have begun to calculate the expendability of those who’d been taught to think themselves its beneficiaries.

If the spirits of the dead could be reborn among the living. Ottawa and Chippewa and Potawatomi warriors could take up the struggle where they left it two centuries ago, augmented by the forces of Sioux, Dakota and Nez Percé, Yana and Medoc and the countless tribes whose languages are no longer spoken. Such a force could round up criminals who would not otherwise be brought before any tribunal. The numerous agents of Capital could then continue to practice their routine of work-save-invest-sell, torturing each other with platitudes, promises and police, inside defused and disconnected power plants, behind plutonium doors.

*Note: A mini-pamphlet of this article is now available from the GA Distro for \$1 each, or 25 copies for \$10 (see page 35).*



# Limits of Illusion, Limits of Exhaustion

We must be done now with private property and its characteristic political system, democracy. More than ever anarchy offers the sole remaining prospect not only for life organized around play but also the preservation of human traditions of mutual assistance. Our domination has, in the literal sense, a utopian dimension, as the word means originally *no place*. We are a generation carried from nowhere to nowhere, and if our attempts at love, play, sabotage and cooperation are often pathetic, at least we understand they have their heroic dimensions as well, given the relentlessly centrifugal force field we operate in.

We can take comfort in our recognition of limits. The struggle did not begin with us and will not end with us. None of us are indispensable yet all of us may contribute immeasurably to the tendencies of intensifying insurrection.

Against the cancer of limitless growth (i.e., devouring earth and people to preserve Property’s preconditions), we are those who know our limits. We know we will die and want lives unshadowed by the need to always be calculating how to just survive. We know there is enough for us all to be satisfied because we are capable of infusing our modest projects with grace, practicality and flair, so the proportions of greed constantly displayed by corporadoes seem to us increasingly grotesque, and the dazzle of virtual reality compensates nicely for an actual reality that more of us find ugly, exhausting and incoherent.

The most chilling evocation of this reality may be found in the writings of the Marquis de Sade, the unacknowledged prophet of the bourgeoisie. At the dawn of the modern era he set down on paper an unsurpassed apology for crime, where the boundary is blurred between sociology and satire. Always immensely wealthy and seeming beyond the reach of law or conscience, his judges, statesmen, bankers, bandits, clerics and aristocrats display an obsession with security that would be astonishing were we not familiar with their contemporary successors. Victims are incessantly reminded of their invisibility, but the endlessly repetitive resort to refined and horrific cruelties intense enough to induce ejaculation in these jaded movers and shakers underscores their actual, permanent impotence. Compare this point of discharge to the *purchase*, after which the next purchase begins as a glint in the eye of the consumer and continues to clamor compulsively for the consummation of spending: the concupiscence of commerce.

This underlying dynamic corrodes, of course, the importance of restraint and accordingly opens up a contradiction between the imperatives of the global commodity production system and the persistence of “traditional” wisdom, nicely summarized in the inscription found on a Greek temple from the post-Alexander period in Afghanistan:

*As children, learn good manners.  
As young men, learn restraint.  
In middle age be just.  
In old age give good advice,  
Then die without regret.*

Contrast these sentiments with encouragement currently given children to become consumers at ever younger ages. Is it any wonder that some with “boundary” issues refuse to contain their gratification of whim within the economic sphere? That they do not resist the impulse to kill, say, perhaps large numbers of complete strangers?

Sade’s nightmarish visions seem more relevant now for another reason as well. Formerly our submission to paycheck/price tag captivity was seduced — now, it seems, our acceptance of the (black) magic of the marketplace must be coerced. In Sade’s world, too, there is no seduction — there is only rape, or among the libertines, mutual masturbation. Sure, today images of sex proliferate, but the sphere of the erotic dwindles. Are we watching it more and doing it less? Is it easier to just play with ourselves and cum in a few minutes than work up some real tension and experience a correspondingly greater gush at the hands or lips of an actual lover? Our isolation intensifies as we are pushed inexorably into solipsism by the centrifugal forces of the automobile and the computer, the latter, like masturbation, perfectly

complementing the Solitary Self. Where Comfort and Convenience are the ultimate values, what can be better than to have all of culture available as you sit and watch? Sit and watch. Sit and watch. These are our defining activities. In the car, sit and watch. At school, sit and watch. In the office, sit and watch. In the factory, sit and watch. At home, sit and watch.

Our martial tempers recoil from this spurious slackness, which co-exists with lengthening workweeks and vanishing

benefits. The competition for resources and markets fuels increasingly lethal conflicts—the insecurity so evident in the preoccupation with security engenders increasing desperation at every level of society. The State may be losing importance to gangs, though it certainly remembers how to work with them to accomplish its more heinous and unsavory tasks. This has meant danger as well as opportunity for

distinction — consider the exemplary, scrupulous regard for life displayed by ELF/ALF, who until 9/11 had apparently caused the most monetary damage of any “terrorist” group, all without a single fatality. The glory given imprisoned comrades inspires valor, and the extensive cultivation of solidarity inspires hope that we can, as Faulkner put it, not only endure, but prevail.

We attempt to practice random acts of kindness and senseless beauty and are appalled by the calculating brutality gaining ground almost by the day. We struggle to maintain equilibrium and create beauty, and are horrified by each new example of ugliness in the service of utility. This vileness — from toxic workplaces to vistas of unrelenting sterility everywhere — is portended in the bedrooms of isolated mansions where the cream of the crap practice their philosophy covered literally in shit, which they relish. The only limit they acknowledge is that their crimes cannot be repeated and prolonged after their deaths. This limit does not constrain their successors, however; they have produced

new, improved shit—nuclear waste—with a half-life of eons.

Sade’s libertines are obsessed with impressing on their victims the impossibility of escape, just as today we are given to believe all we can hope for is the expansion of democracy; there is no escape from the forward force of technology in the service of the market, so the (death) ship of state stays afloat. The astonishingly inhuman dimension of our setup is perhaps seen most clearly in the Pentagon’s DARPA program to make the market arbiter even of intelligence gathering. Stalin said humans were the most precious form of capital—

thanks, Uncle Joe! Are we now the most precious form of data??

Sade’s compulsive cruelty can be countered with an implacable insistence on the importance of limits, that the Self is not an empire unto itself, that we have exhausted every limit (even that of illusion) but that of exhaustion itself. To continue with the sexual metaphor, it can be contested by cultivating the Taoist alternative, consciously intensifying tension by initial restraint in order to insure an ultimately more powerful climax. Melting away before the charge of massed, heavily armored force is a time-honored characteristic of steppe warfare with obvious tactical and strategic resonance today.

To sustain our animal inheritance we must prepare to dismantle that institution most fundamental to human civilization, property. Out of reach to more and more, it is the unseen specter defining the (flattening) contours of everyday life. We do well to remember that the dead hand of the past weighs heavy on the present. Individual ownership goes well with our sedentary isolation as it does with so many other aspects of our deformed existence, that, above all, of turning every experience, every idea, every dream, every wet dream, even, into something of value which can be exchanged in the global marketplace. Increasing value or realizing quality? Will what it’s worth win out over what it is? The end is in doubt, but then, it always is.

by  
Dan Todd



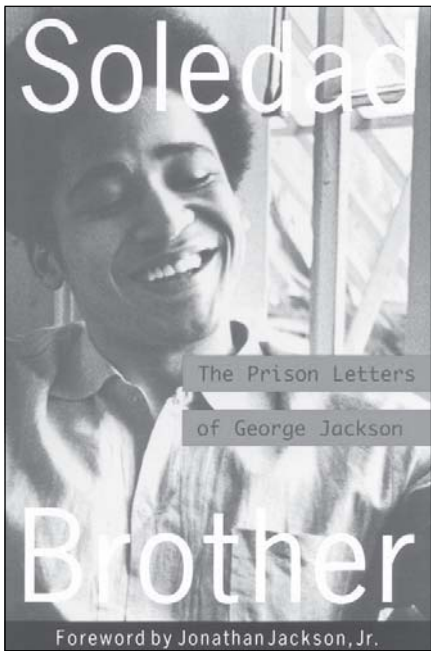


# (RETRO) Reviews

In this issue, we have decided to review a few texts, which are not necessarily new. In fact some have been seen as classics within radical movements for some time. By doing this, we hope to expose readers to works often taken for granted, yet influential in the development of many peoples' radical perspectives. In the future, we hope to include at least one review of this type per issue, along with current texts. We, as always, encourage reviews (under 800 words) from our readers. All of the following reviews were written by members of the *Green Anarchy Collective*, except when noted.

## *Soledad Brother* by George Jackson

Perhaps one of the most classic texts for the Black Liberation, Anti-Imperialist, and Prison Abolition movements, is this collection of prison letters (1964-70) from sixties radical, George Jackson. The book is a mixed bag. While the first



two-thirds contain some of the most inspiring passages on the yearning for freedom that I have ever experienced, the last section of the book goes into Jackson's political program for revolution and societal transformation, which unfortunately seems Maoist in orientation. The book, however, is well worth a read, not only for the peek into the soul and creation of a warrior, but also as a study of the all too familiar story of the struggle for liberation being tarnished by authoritarian politics. George Jackson grew up in a poor black Chicago family, and as a youth could not (and would not) fit into the American nightmare of racism, poverty, and hopelessness. He got involved in small-time crime and guns and was regularly on the run, eventually ending up in California, where his father relocated with him to help George stay out of trouble. It was there that he was arrested as an accomplice to a \$70 robbery and given one year to life in maximum security prison. Often in solitary confinement, over the next ten years George Jackson transformed from juvenile delinquent into revolutionary. Through his letters Jackson maintained deep and loving, yet critical, relationships with his mother, Georgia, who prayed for her son to become a good Christian; his father, Robert, a supportive, strong, and quiet man who had been beaten down by the system; his younger brother Jonathan, who George hoped would become a revolutionary and was ultimately killed in August 1970 as he attempted to free Jackson; Angela Davis, who he fell in love with and with whom he shared his revolutionary dreams; as well as other relatives and friends. Through his writings, he deconstructs imperialism, capitalism, racism, assimilation, servitude, cowardice, and pain. He was disciplined both mentally and physically and prepared for unlimited struggle, yet he maintained a great love inside of him. He wavered between deep desperation and hopelessness, and an enthusiasm and conviction almost incomprehensible. His character was strong; unfortunately, there are also elements of homophobia and sexism which make their way into his letters. He was an open communicator, and brutally honest. He knew he would probably never make it out alive, and after over ten years in prison, he was assassinated by the prison authorities in a supposed escape attempt. His writings inspired many behind bars; And his murder sparked numerous revolts, including the infamous Attica Prison uprising in upstate New York.

Again, George Jackson's politics, especially in the later years of his life, took on a Maoist direction, which has no relevance to anarchists, except for complete disdain. Yet, it is important to see where these tendencies come from, and also to be able to recognize the circumstances that moved Jackson in this direction. It is possible to be critical and also be inspired by and learn from his experience and his longing for freedom.

In the words of George Jackson to his mother who wished for her son to conform with society (July 28, 1967):

*"We are in an extreme situation...I did not create this impasse...Did I colonize, kidnap, make war on myself, and neglect myself, steal my identity and then, being reduced to nothing, invent a competitive economy knowing that I cannot compete? Sounds*

*very foolish, but this is what you propose when you place the blame on me or on "us." I was not a fool who created this monster, one accustomed to power and its use, a foolish man grown heady with power and made drunk, dizzy drunk from the hot air that inflates his ego. I am his victim, born innocent, a total product of my surroundings. Everything that I am, I developed into because of circumstantial and situational pressures. I was born knowing nothing; necessity and environment formed me, and everyone like me. I'm through with weak-*

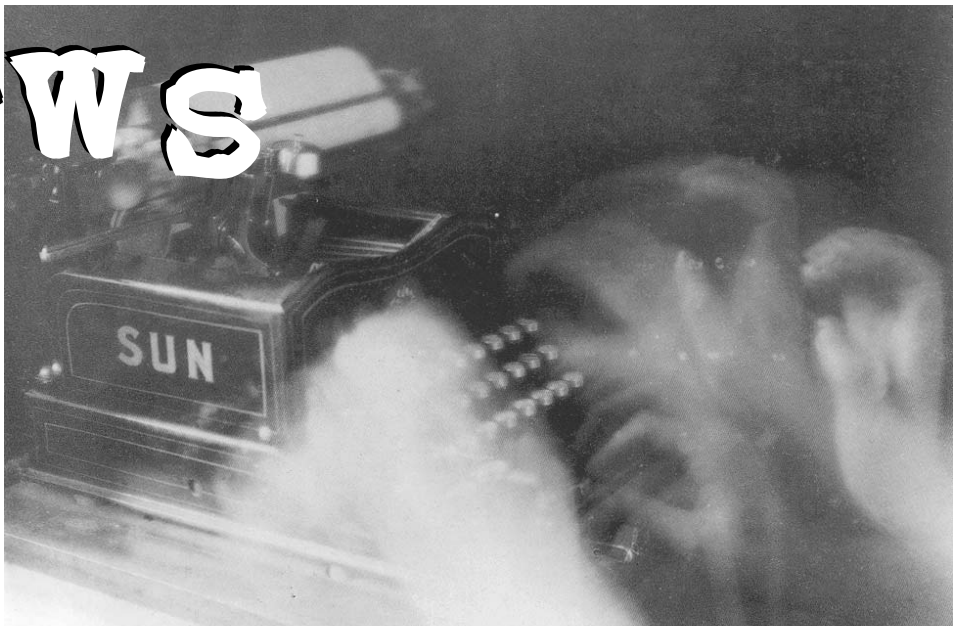
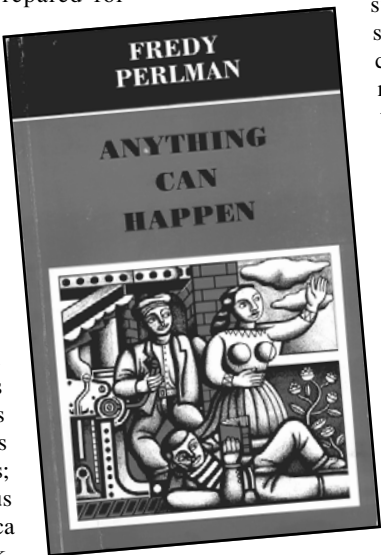
*ness and cowardice. I've trained it out. Let come what comes. I can never delude myself into thinking that I love my enemies. I can hardly do any worse than I am doing now; if worst comes to worst that's all right. I'll just continue to fight in hell."*

Available at most used bookstores.

## *Anything Can Happen* by Fredy Perlman

This compilation of some of Perlman's shorter essays is a sort of timeline of the development of this important thinker, from rebel marxist economist to radical anti-industrialist. For those unfamiliar with Perlman's work, *Anything Can Happen* is a great entry point. These essays were either published by *Red & Black*, or appeared in the once relevant anarchist paper, *Fifth Estate*. The collection starts with Fredy's youthful enthusiasm of "Anything Can Happen," an essay inspired by the May of '68 student and worker uprising in France. He explores the myths and events of those days to demonstrate that, "anything is possible!" He challenges the conventional American understanding of "common sense," examines the concept of "human nature," and starts to tackle the subject of "division of labor".

While this piece may seem somewhat naive in some regards, its hopeful and rebellious quality is nonetheless inspiring. In the piece entitled, "I Accuse This Liberal University of Terror and Violence," Perlman lashes out at the university which recently fired him and another radical professor because of the political nature of the teachings, and also expelled and pressed charges against a radical student who challenged her instructor. He exposes not only this particular institution, but liberals in general. In "The Reproduction of Daily Life," he examines the "social response to material and historical conditions," and explains how "the everyday slave reproduces slavery." He illustrates our own role in the commodification of our lives in far more accessible language than most of his contemporaries.



Towards the late seventies Fredy Perlman's more influential and explicitly anti-industrial writings become more pronounced. In "Progress & Nuclear Power: The Destruction of the Continent and Its Peoples" (see page 10), he eloquently traces the systematic colonization of North America and links it to the same mind-set which perpetuates industry and nuclear power. Written just after the Three Mile Island accident in Pennsylvania, he reminds us that those whose goal it was to "civilize" this continent's original inhabitants and ecosystems will certainly not hesitate to poison us and then try to say it is for our benefit. Also at this time, Fredy strongly addresses authoritarianism and nationalism. In his brief "Ten Theses on the Proliferation of Egocrats," he looks at the dynamics and rationality within this society which explains the development of the ego-leader/dictator. In "Anti-Semitism and the Beirut Pogrom," Perlman takes a hard and personal look at the inherent racism within Zionism, and the all-too-frequent transition of an oppressed people becoming an oppressor. This remarkable collection is concluded with what should be required reading for all anarchists, "The Continuing Appeal of Nationalism." This essay takes a concise and critical look at national liberation struggles from an anarchist perspective.

Unfortunately, Perlman died relatively early in the development of the anti-civilization/anarcho-primitivist critique he helped to influence. One wonders what he would think of the current state of the world and the resistance to it. Perlman also wrote more than a dozen full-length books, including his spoof, *Manual for Revolutionary Leaders* and the classic, *Against His-story, Against Leviathan!*

Available for \$10 from the Coalition Against Civilization, PO Box 835 Greensburg, PA 15601, or contact Phoenix Press, PO Box 824, London, England, N1 9DLN. Also: "Ten Theses on the Proliferation of Egocrats", "Anti-Semitism and the Beirut Pogrom", "The Continuing Appeal of Nationalism", and "Progress and Nuclear Power" are all now available from the GA Distro (see page 35).

## *Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism* by Rudolf Rocker

We recently read this essay in our local anarchist study group. While most of it lays out basic traditional anarchist ideas (in a very unprovocative and tiresome way I might add), there are some major omissions of strains of anarchy in his historical overview, and significant problems with his vision (or lack thereof). It creates a very limited view of "anarchism," which, as one member of *AK Press* (who refuse to carry *Green Anarchy* because "It is not anarchism") recently explained to me, is only a "political method of organizing." Wow, I thought "anarchism" was an idea that opened from the absence of all authority and the celebration of creative desires, but leave it to lefties to reduce everything down to a limited and programmatic method for manipulating the working class into more efficient producers for the "common good."

*Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism* begins by confining anarchists to "productive forces... which would have for (their) sole purpose the satisfying of necessary requirements of every member of society." Sounds like we're still cogs in a global system, right? Like many of the classical anarchists, Rocker embraces concepts of progress and industry, which will "make accessible to him the blessings of a higher intellectual culture" In regards to his idea of a "higher order of things," he quotes Saint Simon: "The time will come when the art of governing men will disappear. A new art will take its place, the art of administering things." Do I hear Mr. Lenin in the background?

Rocker's ideas on organization are very explicit and limited as well, "Anarchists desire a federation," so I guess autonomous, small scale, face-to-face decisions are out of the question if you are an anarchist. When speaking of anarchism's role in society he states, "The work of its adherents is pre-eminently a work of education to prepare the people intellectually and psychologically for the tasks of their social liberation." So in other words, anarchists are the vanguard who know

what is best for other people's own liberation, and we must prepare this fodder for the tasks we have figured out for them, for their own good of course!

Rocker presents anarchism as just another political-economic system because, "human beings can only live together naturally and freely when proper economic conditions for this are given." According to Eugene Hins of the Belgian Federation at the fourth congress of the First International (1869): "The councils of the trades and industrial organizations will take the place of the present govern-

ment, and this representation of labor will do away, once and forever, with the governments of the past." The congress declared: "As soon as a trade union is formed the unions in the same trade are to be notified so that the formation of national alliances in the industries may begin. These alliances shall be charged with the duty of collecting all materials relating to their industry, of advising about all measures to be executed in common, and of seeing that they are carried out, to the end that the present wage system may be replaced by the federation of free producers." Hin explained: "by this dual form of organization of local workers' associations and general alliances for each industry on the one hand and the political administration of labor councils on the other, the general representation of labor, regional, national, and international, will be provided for." To this, again Rocker states, "Proceeding from their recognition that the lordship of man had its day, they (Syndicalists) sought to familiarize themselves with the administration of things."

Probably most disturbing to me in this view, is the capitalist-like reduction of our identity and worth to what we produce; in essence we are deeply connected to the commodity, and in fact we become it. As Bakunin stated, "The natural organization of the masses," according to the forerunner of modern anarcho-syndicalism, "is one based on the different occupations...various kinds of work, organization according to their occupations, trade organizations." Rocker concludes his thesis by setting forth that the sum of who we are is reduced to our production value.





“Only in the realm of economy are the workers able to display their full strength, for it is their activity as producers which holds the whole social structure and guarantees the existence of society.” He goes on to pronounce, “the trade union has to be the spearhead of the labor movement...to acquaint the workers with the technical management of production and economic life in general and prepare them to take the socio-economic organism into their own hands and shape it according to socialist principles.” So where is the anarchy again? And who is it again who will run this techno-industrial continuation? “The National Federation of Labor Chambers...maintains the permanent connection among local bodies, arranges free adjustment of the productive labor....take over the administration of existing social capital in each community, determine the needs of the inhabitants of their districts and organize local consumption.” I sure hope my representatives to these agencies know full well my needs and desires, but what if I have my own ideas on how my life should look? Oh, well that’s been thought about as well. “The trade unions of a city or a rural district combine in Labor Chambers and weld the workers together as producers to prevent the rise of any narrow-minded factional spirit,” or is it free-thinking they fear?

Despite Rocker’s rhetorical disclaimers that people could choose to not be a part of this “liberated” economy, it is hard to see, as it is currently, how this could occur when it has all been figured out for us and its proposed infrastructure extends around the globe. It is not hard for post-leftists and other critical and autonomous thinkers to see some very clear ideological lines which run through the left: from anarcho-syndicalism through more authoritarian forms of communism. We see in them, the acceptance of industry, production, representation, authority, administrative apparatus, and more, as they move against freedom, imagination, autonomy, and nature. The biggest concern, as an anarchist, is that this view of “anarchy” and “liberation” is still somewhat prevalent today.

Available as a pamphlet in most left-leaning anarchist infoshops or distros.

## Woman and Nature: The Roaring Inside Her

by Susan Griffin

This is one of my favorite books of all time, and attempting to sum up this treasure in a simple review would not do it justice. It is an experience I would encourage everyone to undergo as soon as possible. **Woman and Nature** is a foundation on which much modern eco-feminism is based. The text is a combination of cultural anthropology, intense feminist analysis, multiple visions for re-connection, and a passionate warning to power. Griffin’s poetic and free-flowing illustration of domination, destruction, and control gets at the roots of patriarchy and both the common and unique experiences of its victims, but it does not stop there. As the subtitle suggests, the rage building inside will ultimately explode into a release of thousands of years of internalized fury. This intense collage of experiences and emotion deeply connect the devastation of the earth to the ravaging of women by internalized, cultural, and institutional demons. Giving a voice to untold (or manipulated) history, feminine psychology, and nature, Griffin puts into question science, technology, ideology, totalitarian morality, linearity, objective rationality, patriarchy, domestication, and industrial civilization. As crisis on the planet, both environmental and social, increases, this book becomes even more relevant than when it was written 25 years ago.

To quote the dedication:  
“These words are written for those of us whose language is not heard, whose words have been stolen or erased, those robbed of language, who are called voiceless or mute, even the earth-worms, even the shellfish and sponges, for those of us who speak our own language...”

Available in the Feminist/Women’s Studies section of most bookstores. See issues #11 and #13 of *Green Anarchy* for samples from the book.

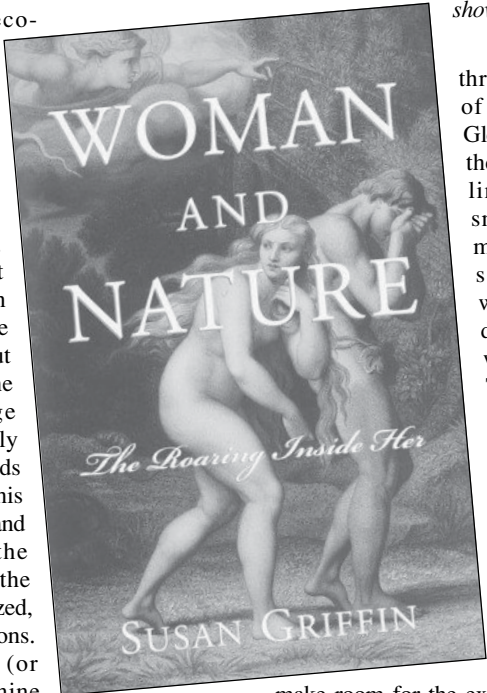
## Off The Map

by Chellis Glendinning  
(Reviewed by Rose Marie)

“The notion of owned earth originates in maps with their straight lines Latin-Long Mercator, boxing what are the boundless pulsations of breath and blood and grasses in the wind.”

Explorer, Discovery, Expedition – they race by me, guzzling gas and spitting toxic fumes. They are the tools of colonization – chariots tracing the roads, reiterating lines of accessibility. They are on the map. Chellis Glendinning’s book, **Off the Map**, effectively draws upon personal narrative, prose, and critique to expose the insidious connections between imperialist empire’s control on daily life and the ideals manifest through maps. Each map reflects a way of seeing the world. As quoted in the book, Mark Monmonier challenges that, “maps have three basic attributes: scale, projection, and symbolization. Each element is a source of distortion.” This may seem apparent given the obvious fallacy of objectivity, but it is the multiple layers of bias represented in maps that are still strikingly pivotal aspects of the lies that have built America. Of course, historically, voyager captains were also mapmakers. Recording the path to “resources,” “opportunity,” places where something could be acquired. As technology continues to control and mediate our interactions, ‘virtual’ maps enable worldwide access to ‘consumable goods’ via the information ‘superhighway.’ Maps enable the spot to be found again, allows the information to be shared/sold/re-interpreted – perspective is represented. Throughout *Off the Map*, the reader follows Glendinning and her friend Snowflake Martinez through intense personal experiences both in processing the past and addressing the present. Glendinning does an incredible job blending theory and experience in order to highlight embodied manifestations of empire/colonization/domination and how they are facilitated by maps.

“The people are changed. The land is changed. The mapmaker himself is changed. The map does not show the changes.”



On her journey through the plains of New Mexico, Glendinning connects the absurd straight lines of a map-smashing whole mountains into squares—with western culture’s drive to control what is wild. The neat rows, trimmed hedges, cut lawns, all bear the mark of this desire to dominate/conquer/manage. The weeds/locals/plants seen as problems, are pulled out to make room for the exotics (that require more resources – that consume more). Then, even these beings are ‘kept in line,’ ‘cleaned up,’ separated and controlled. This metaphor is familiar. Maps spell it out, defining the lines and boundaries that cannot be penetrated/changed. Where is the erosion, the ebb and flow, the blurring – where are the cycles- represented? Nature is shown as static, pinned down, and understood. Like police, maintaining the unstable/unnatural power of the state, plants must also be watched and dominated. Making sure nothing steps/crawls/grows out of line. The mentality of domination and a need for control consumes our homes, relationships, perspectives, and manifests where it is not suspected. Where, like a map, the space is labeled apolitical or objective... let’s not be fooled.

“The landscape will never be the same.”  
- Jeep advertisement, 1998, as quoted in the book.



The intensity of Glendinning’s personal narrative about rape slams the reader with the connection between the colonization of bodies and the conquest of the natural environment. Breaking her own silence, Glendinning shares her story of repeated abuse by her father, and her recovery from these hideous violations as a way of subjectively speaking out about how conquest and domination have scarred her perspective. Empire colonizes bodies (plants and animals) – it works to control, manipulate, and utilize them for their own benefit. They get off; they get what they want, and then use a map to turn again. Something is taken, reciprocity and trust become impossible. It has everything to do with power. Just as indigenous peoples have experienced; manifest

destiny/wanting what is ‘over there’/exploitation and domination (on some level) are all experienced by bodies. When we are ready, as survivors, we must speak our truths about violence in order to make it something tangible and therefore able to be addressed. Glendinning puts herself out there so that we may all learn from her strength. The map shows us how to see the world. It shows us how things are laid out, and how to get there. It skews perspective, and distorts scale. The mountains, the forest,

and the dusty plains are smashed into a box, a square, pinned down – mapped out. We are taught that maps tell the ‘Truth’, objectively; representing “the way it is.” In *Off the Map*, Glendinning undoes this myth, line by line and encourages us to look OFF the map for answers.

“Imagine: you could collect the materials behind the house, he says. You could twist and bind them to make a map. Then, like the ancient cartographers of the South Pacific, you could memorize your creation. And when at last you launch, you would leave it behind; you would put your bodies against the wind and feel the way with your bones.”

Available in the Environmental/Eco-feminist/ Psychology section of most bookstores.  
(Check-out our interview with Chellis on page 6.)

## The Sheep Look Up

by James Brunner  
(Reviewed by Jeff Robinson)

“...you don’t understand, and you ought to. Who’s going to be sane in this country when you know every breath you draw, every glass you fill with water, every swim you take in the river, every meal you eat is killing you? And you know why, and you know who’s doing it to you, and you can’t get back at them...”

Will the Sheep ever look up? Sure, we don’t have to wear gas masks to breathe in cities, we don’t have to avoid all natural waterways, and the agricultural landscape hasn’t quite turned itself to dust...yet! But I remember a time when TV weather forecasters didn’t warn of too much UV exposure, when there were no smog warnings in L.A., when water and fish were relatively free from mercury pollution and when snow would pile up higher than my head every winter.

*The Sheep Look Up* depicts a world much like our own, with problems only slightly more severe than those we face now. Wars erupt in every locale whose people challenge the rampant theft of the colonizers. Anyone in the “First World” countries (in the book, they take the name, ‘Trainites,’ from the book’s revolutionary author, Austin Train) who dares to resist the tyranny gets labeled ‘terrorist,’ and killed off or jailed like so

many others before them. Those foolish or desperate enough to fight the developer’s bombs, guns and earth movers in the so-called “Third World” (in *Sheep*, the Tupamaros) get ruthlessly slaughtered.

While reading this book and then contemplating it on a hitching trip through the burning old growth forests of British Columbia, Canada, the need for an immediate and radical upheaval of everything we call civilization seemed more real, more dire. While exposing the absurdity of our daily life, *Sheep* also details how chaotic non-organizations can pose serious threats to the oppressive power structures they live under. The Trainites create massive traffic jams with well-placed caltrops, then redecorate every car and business windows with etching cream and spray paint. A lot like non-American black block tactics, but with more participation and no leftist uber-organizing, quasi-governmental-style coalitions.

Everything starts to go crazy when the chemicals buried away in countless holes in the ground start to leak into the local water supplies; killing, maiming and driving insane the folks unfortunate enough to have drunk a glass of tap water before the local authorities could post “Do Not Drink” notices. The only difference between the scenario in *Sheep* and our real lives is that the local authorities tell us that our cancers are natural, and by the way, don’t worry about what’s in the water because someone in Iraq wants to kill us. Rest assured, it would take one hell of a disaster before anyone on the news or in the government/corporate palaces would tell us that it was something other than mistakes that cause our sicknesses. *Sheep* depicts a world where everyone knows that their daily lives are killing the planet. They can see it through the glass of their gas masks, hear it in the roar of the mega-freeways, smell it in the burnt air of Los Angeles and NYC, taste it in the bland GMO-soy foods (Nutripon in the novel) and feel it in the oily waters of North America.

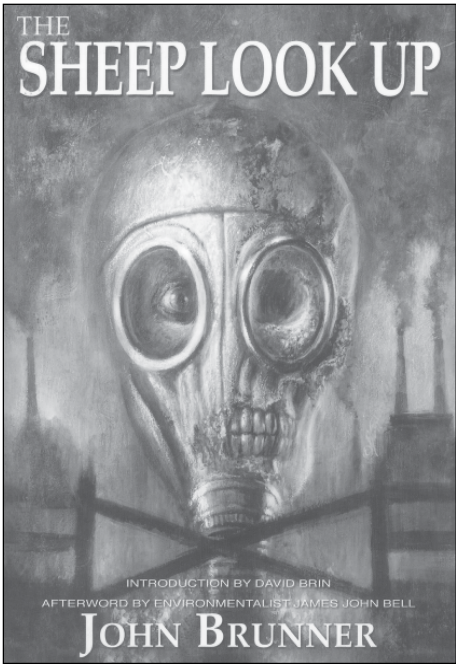
The world in the novel is our world; Not in a few years, but today. The gas masks and dirty water and wars and nuclear explosions and poisonings and cases of insanity have flooded our lives to such a degree we cannot even recognize those things that are not insane, not degraded, not sprayed with chemicals, not genetically modified and then served up on red, white and blue dinner plates. The blinders have been removed from our eyes, the last bits of wool pulled away by GWBush to weave government-issue army blankets, to reveal a world on fire, filled with toxic waste and quickly turning into desert. Those who resist in the minutest ways receive 9 life sentences, 23 years, 7 years, death, and much of the harshest and most creative punishments those in power can devise. Like the Trainites, we fight, not only because we must, but also because it is the only fun thing left to do. Like the Tupamaros, we resist even through violent means, because sometimes—as is the case with the Palestinians, the Irish, the Papuans, Iraqis and so on— we have nothing left to live for but the sight of the blood of the people who kill our land, our air and our families.

If you want to see exactly what lays in store for our planet, and for inspiration about what we can do to stop it, read *The Sheep Look Up*. Mail it to your families and friends to give them just

enough of a jolt to open their eyes to the horror-show playing out around them. Most of all fight for the last few things you can find that escape the absurdity of the lives we are dealt. After all, wildness remains, and the last bits of it are where the gods and goddesses lay dying, waiting for us to destroy everything that kills their ancestral home. *Sheep* escapes notions of spreading wealth (the sick American brand of equality) to the world, and concludes with the idea that we must

remove the richest, most wasteful 2 million people on the planet, and put an end to the exportation of American values to the rest of the world.

Available in the Science Fiction section of most bookstores.





# REVOLT OF THE SAVAGES

## PRIMITIVE REVOLTS AGAINST CIVILIZATION

In *'The Rising of the Barbarians'* (from *Green Anarchy*#13), the influences regarding its 'revolutionary perspective' are revealed, in order to draw out exactly where lines of solidarity lie: *"'Primitive' people have often lived in anarchic and communistic ways, but they do not have a history of revolutionary struggle from which we can loot weapons for our current struggle."* And this is where I couldn't disagree more (especially regarding the postmodern overtones). However, the question has been raised as to what the contextual limits are on the implication of 'revolutionary struggle,' but my response is the same. While I won't argue that more recent 'revolutionary' struggles have nothing to offer me, I will argue that "primitive" people have every bit of a history of revolt against civilization. So perhaps I should clarify what I'm pointing towards in regards to revolution. For me, revolution comes about through the destruction (or fatal disabling) of civilization in a totalistic sense. Meaning very simply that I'm not talking about overthrowing or grabbing power long enough to get rid of the current regime or form, but essentially attacking the very thing that makes it possible at all for people to hold power over others: most immediately, the technological grid. I feel the utmost solidarity with those who have rejected and revolted against the civilized order which must impose itself upon others to exist. That system is, by all means, the antithesis of anarchy as it requires the surrendering of autonomy and self-determination for all life.

There is no shortage of literature regarding the plight of those who have been fighting this from inception to date and a minute portion of that will be the focus of this essay. As anthropologist John Bodley writes in *Victims of Progress*, indigenous resistance generally aims at being left alone, as the Free Papua Movement has reiterated in its current struggles. There are those who will keep away as long as possible, those who will fight, and those who see no other option outside of acculturation (because of deception or deprivation).

It is nearly impossible for us to imagine the mentality of peoples who are fighting, not to improve the conditions of their survival, but for their lives. That many of us don't equate genocide and ethnocide comes from the fact that we really have no intrinsically deep connection with what it means to live and be a part of the community of life. Being in a situation that is absolutely bleak by any standard, indigenous people throughout the world and throughout history have fought with absolute conviction and fervor while preserving everything that is beautiful about life. It is impossible for me to convey the feeling I get when thinking of the Tasmanian gatherer-hunters who walked towards their would-be conquerors as if surrendering while dragging a spear between their toes in the face of annihilation. For these people, resistance is not a matter of abstract principle and ideology, but coming from the depths of their being.

Whether we are talking about the Kayapo of northern Brazil, the many indigenous revolutionaries throughout the South Pacific (1), Traditional Diné on the Black Mesa, we are talking about resistance that is not just against capitalism, but against the entire artificial order. What I have found looking at indigenous resistance, both contemporary and historic, is a spiritual and tactical arsenal from which I gain nothing but hope and strength, much as I hope any anti-civilization insurgent or revolutionary would hope to aspire. Now I will focus on two particular cases of indigenous resistance that seem particularly important towards attacking the totality of civilization: the Pueblo Revolts of 1680 and the Apache resistance to colonization.

### The Pueblo Revolts of 1680

In terms of pillaging the past for clues as to what we can learn and apply for our own resistance, it seems the Pueblo Revolt that swept and successfully removed the yoke of Spanish colonialism for 12 years is as good of a place as any to start. My interests in this particular revolt arose while I was walking through the city center (which has been for up to five thousand years)

of Taos, New Mexico and I was told the street I was walking was where the Spanish Governor's head was rolled in the immediate aftermath of the Pueblo Revolt. It stood as a great shame to the 17<sup>th</sup> Century colonial European powers to be beaten so badly and, in every sense, outsmarted. The Pueblo Revolt stands as one of the most relevant understandings of how the weaknesses of civilization could be used against it, as will be laid out. The Spanish exploitation of the Pueblo peoples and land originates in the very late 16<sup>th</sup> Century as the European empires tore across the 'New World', attempting absolute conquest over both the human populations and the earth itself.

It would seem most ironic that these very factors were the key to the success of the revolts, as the Spanish had few other options but to put absolute faith in the power of their technological ability to subjugate both.

The Pueblo were a source of labor and marketable produce in what was an otherwise very dependent colony. The land that the Pueblo had lived on was very ecologically fragile. It had been grounds for empires to collapse in the recent past creating a population of mixed descent that were dependent upon a very ecologically sensitive form of horticulture based primarily on irrigation and clustering of crops to get the most out of a short and undependable growing season. The ever-present ecological stresses alone were enough on a community which was held together very successfully by a much tailored spirituality and rituality. The Spanish attack upon the people and their spirituality only fermented an otherwise patient anger and frustration against the attempt to turn their sacred land into a resource base for mercantile capitalism. The initially passive approach to the Spanish was to be completely altered by the continuation of brutal slaughters and worsening conditions for the Pueblo.

### The Revolt

The revolt itself is widely accredited to the work of the prophet Popé (2), an emerging 'political leader' of the San Juan Pueblo and a traditionalist shaman. As a shaman, Popé was subjected to the most repression from the Spanish as they tried to curb the 'savage religions' and create Christians out of the 'heathens.' Much to their dismay, the more that he was made a symbol of harsh reprisal for enacting his spirituality via public floggings, etc., the more he became a symbol for traditional resistance against Spanish colonialism. This would essentially open the role of spiritual and tactical advisor for a successful revolt and it was then that he began to plot it. After a four year prison sentence for 'sorcery,' Popé relocated among the Taos Pueblo where he was only more adamant in his preaching that "Indians must be Indians again." The revolt was in every aspect ecologically based; he was receiving his council from Po-he-yemu ("one who scatters mist"), meaning that the revolt was taking its command from the sky. He was able to anticipate traitors among the Pueblo, primarily those who had turned towards Christianity, and planned accordingly. The Spanish were well aware that a revolt was being planned, but could get no information other than the leader being Po-he-yemu, whom was believed to be on the other side of the mountains where captured and interrogated Pueblos would point. The entire time they were looking

By  
**Kevin  
Tucker**



for an actual being when ironically their unknown ring-leader was the sky. Popé's plan for revolt was based entirely off an understanding of the weaknesses of the Spanish and the strength of the earth. As they had been unable to fully plant themselves in this exotic and taxed environment, they would be dependent upon bi-monthly shipments which came up the Rio Grande. Popé saw the river as a snake, and recognized that cutting it off at one point would bring about dramatic effects for the rest of the body. He knew that other peoples would carry their support for an attack upon the Spanish and, as had many other indigenous prophet/warriors, was able to unify huge regions of indigenous peoples from various backgrounds to offer their support. He recognized that the sporadic rains would always slow the shipment of supplies considerably for the Spanish, and towards the end of the bi-monthly period they were always scraping the bottom of the barrel for resources and were at their weakest point.

By looking towards Po-he-yemu, the peoples were watching the sky, knowing that the revolt would occur when the bi-monthly shipment was delayed by the coming of the rains. At that point, the Pueblo and supporters all along the Rio Grande would carry out a highly organized attack upon the Spanish, starting with taking out the supply shipment and moving up the river before the northern towns had even found out the fate of those south of them. The revolt came as a complete surprise even though the Spanish knew a revolt was likely to come at any time and it was completely successful in debilitating Spanish rule.

The revolt was successful when gauged as an anti-colonial revolution as it had kept off the Spanish powers for 12 years (as long as the FSLN were able to hold out in Nicaragua). The reason for the failure of the revolution can be seen as another lesson to learn from past resistance. After the revolt, Popé took it upon himself to claim some bit of the power vacuum that had been created in the chasm between traditional Pueblo culture and that of the Spanish colonizers. He saw the success of the revolution as a heads-up to his impromptu leadership position, mocking more appropriately the role of Christian leaders in Spain at the time than shamans among any indigenous culture.

Popé's new found tendency towards power created divisions and distrust amongst the Pueblo leaving them more apt to be

re-conquered by the Spanish. What can be exhibited best by the Revolt then, is not only in terms of attacking the weaknesses of civilization, but also the importance of doing so in a manner that can prevent a position of power to remain open. The Pueblo society, while being under heavy attack by Spanish colonizers, was still in a physical shape much like it had been for thousands of years. It was relatively

localized and the face of power was within physical grasp. In this sense, the complete alienation that our society creates between the people and the 'people in power' is a scenario in which the role of power is out of reach. Disabling the technological system that fuels this highly stratified society would create a jolt towards localization that is almost completely unknown to us. Either way, the Pueblo Revolts give us a glimpse of vital elements of guerrilla warfare tied to the ecological situation more so than any of the civilized 'revolutions,' and therefore something that seems more applicable in an assault on the whole of civilization.





# Apache Resistance

The Apache carried on one of the most successful campaigns against colonization during the peak of westward expansion. In every sense, their resistance speaks of the beauty and conviction of a people who would risk everything in order to flee domination. When thinking of the Apache, we are often left with the image of Geronimo, despite his role as more of an exception than the rule among warriors. While recognizing the need to not write him off, he was far more of a ‘loose cannon’ than many of the other legendary Apache warriors who fought and died against the tide of civilization. Victorio comes to mind who, among other warriors, took his own life before being taken captive. This stands as a confirmation of why after exhaustive and complete efforts to annihilate (physically and culturally, respectively) the Apache, the colonial powers were never able to capture an Apache warrior unless s/he had surrendered. The Apache resistance is extremely interesting in that these were gatherer-hunters, which seems to have been the key to their relative success: this lifestyle was/is impossible to fully acculturate into civilization. In this respect they completely embody guerrilla warfare against civilization. Unlike the later leftist guerrillas, they were completely self-sufficient (or able to steal from the army whatever they needed additionally) and thus not reliant upon a peasantry for support or for knowledge of the area. One of the greatest testimonies of the strength, physically and spiritually, of the Apache is Eve Ball’s recorded narrative from a young Apache, James Kaywaykla, who grew up through a period of prolonged warfare and still leaves us with a beautiful account not only of resistance, but the beauty of Apache life. In the Days of Victorio, Apache of all ages were brought into the life-and-death battle against those who sought to tame them either by physical elimination or ‘eliminating the savage’ in them. The young were as much a part of the warfare as were the warriors, and under these conditions the Apache fought with only an increase in motivation. Kaywaykla sums this up by pointing out:

*“[The American forces] have admitted frankly that they were outwitted, out-maneuvered, and out-fought by a handful of ill-equipped, half-starved warriors, handicapped by the presence of their families, and dependent upon what they could steal of food and ammunition. They testified to the caliber of my people by placing thousands of theirs in the field against a few – a very few – of ours.”*

It was the standard for the Apache to have a minimal amount of warriors against hundreds or more of well-armed and prepared soldiers, and still the Apache would be able to hold out against them. The Apache would learn to adapt and incorporate every aspect of warrior life into their culture, which, much to their benefit, was still able to leave their core values and beliefs relatively intact.

## Questions of Applicability

So the question that now opens is what can be learned from this very brief look into the nature of Apache resistance and what ultimately brought about its failure. The Apache were far more successful when gauged on a per battle basis than any of the successful civilized ‘revolutions’ that have been carried out over the last centuries. They were far more mobile and flexible than Cuba’s 26 Julio Army, the Sandinistas, the Shining Path and so on, and were capable of bringing about a more exhaustive assault on the enemy. What seems to stand out the most is that the lifeway of the Apache were completely at odds with the nature of the civilization they were fighting against. It’s noteworthy to recognize that Cuba achieved its highest rates of sugar production for international export after the revolution; it was still in a viable position for the market. The failure of the Apache could easily be seen as more akin with the fate of the Sandinistas who Reagan saw as a part of the communist threat ‘in his back yard’ and thus carried out a lengthy counter-revolutionary guerrilla war to ensure that the FSLN wouldn’t be able to assert themselves politically and economically.

So what is the message here? Are we as doomed as the Apache and the Pueblo if we look towards their resistance as our own arsenal? From what I see, the problem isn’t necessarily the conviction or necessarily the tactics; as the Apache, like most indigenous peoples (such as the revolutionaries in Bougainville), put in practice the principles of guerrilla warfare as well as if not better, than other civilized revolutionaries that would follow or coincide with them. The problem is the nature of this particular stage of civilization with hyper-specialization, mega-technology, and a huge surplus of people as potential ‘cannon-fodder’.

The only reason that the United States has jurisdiction over what was ‘Apache land’ was that they had the numbers and the capital to continually throw into ‘westward expansion.’ It’s not a question of ability, but of how much you have on the table to lose. Fortunately, it seems entirely possible to just disable the whole thing with minimal warfare as the vital organs of civilization become more centralized and more self-dependent.

My decision to limit this brief bit on the topic to the Pueblo Revolt and the Apache resistance was far from unintentional. It seems that a critical reprisal of what any resistance has to offer us should focus on both targets and on methods of hitting those targets. The ability of Popé to plan ecologically against the weaknesses of Spanish colonization mixed with the spiritual and physical determination and fighting ability of the Apache create an extremely volatile mixture against the current order. The question of what can be achieved is intrinsically tied to what it is we are going to attack. Looking at the history of civilizations and our current state, it becomes apparent that this global civilization is bound to collapse, and soon. Of course, collapse comes about as much internally as externally, and I think that situation is far

preferable. From what I know, it is entirely possible that a calculated attack against the technological grid could bring about a huge enough pulse in the mainstay of this civilization to give it a lethal blow. This requires a dedication not towards abstract principles, but an understanding of what it is we are losing and what we have to gain and to fight for. Am I fighting merely for the enactment of my own will? I have no policy to impose upon the world or any kind of ‘master plan’ that I seek to put out after that vacuum may potentially be created. What I hope to achieve is the elimination of a system that eliminates the potential of all life to live free by virtue of existence. That limiting comes as much by contaminating the air, soil, water, and flesh of all life as it does by direct control over individuals. As an anarchist, I see that system: civilization, as the

impediment to a truly autonomous existence. This is a target that has been recognized by indigenous resistors who merely want to “be left alone,” fighting for their autonomy and self-determination. Knowledge of how ‘primitives’ have lived plays an equal part in the destruction of the totality of civilization. I see it in many ways as being an insurrection for the mind against the linear, rationalized, future-obsessed thought that allows the continuation of civilization within our own minds.

Culminating a successful attack against this entire order seems to point towards the tactics and conviction which indigenous people have used against civilization every step of the way. The knowledge of life that a gatherer-hunter has creates a situation of absolute independence which has always been a weakness for ‘civilized’ guerrillas. Past and current civilized revolutionaries have only been successful so long as they use and ultimately exploit the indigenous and peasant populations of the areas they seek to claim (3). The underlying populism of creating a huge solidified force has always been a trap for the few to impose their social policies and must therefore always be viewed critically (4). Any successful revolt will only be the product of determined individuals fighting for their absolute autonomy.

Essentially, I’m laying out what I see as a part of my own ‘revolutionary’ will, and with it my sources of inspiration and my desires, hoping that it will serve in some way as a stepping stone for others to look into the beautiful and tragic history of indigenous resistance. It’s not so much an issue of ‘primitive’ or ‘civilized’ revolts, but a question of whether you are fighting civilization or not. My deepest inspiration and solidarity goes out to those who have recognized this as their enemy and have resisted appropriately.

## Notes:

1 Many of whom are continually involved in armed revolt, for more information check out *Do or Die* no. 8 or contact: Solidarity South Pacific: c/o sdef! Prior house, Tilbury Place, Brighton, E. Sussex, BN2 2GY, UK or [www.eco-action.org/sdp](http://www.eco-action.org/sdp).

2 It is important in order to draw out the differences between indigenous and civilized resistance here by pointing out that indigenous resistance has always been primarily brought about by prophets as opposed to ideologues. Their connection is generally brought about by appeals to ‘return to old ways’, and the power of these movements is vital as it speaks to the inner character of indigenous culture as it remains throughout the individuals. It speaks to them as people who have known themselves or are still connected rather than speaking to something entirely alien to their being.

3 As has been the case throughout Latin America, Russia, etc. indigenous peoples and peasants are generally the ‘strong arm’ of resistance and they are left off or killed when they are seen as useless or have achieved the goals of the vanguard.

4 For more on this, read ‘Insurrection and/or Revolution’ in *Species Traitor* #3. Available for \$4 from CAC PO Box 835 Greensburg, PA 15601.

# Fighting For Survival!

## Indigenous & Campesino Resistance

June 14, Guatemala:  
Former Dictator Attacked During Riot

**Rabinal:** Villagers pelted former dictator and current president of Congress Gen. Efraín Ríos Montt with rocks as he arrived to an isolated corner of the Guatemalan highlands. Unfortunately, the 77-year old was not seriously injured, but security personnel had to carry him away from a riot that erupted when he arrived in the largely Mayan town of Rabinal, five hours by car from Guatemala City, the capital. Ríos Montt took power in a coup in March 1982 but was himself deposed in a military uprising 18 months later. While in office, he began a scorched-earth campaign that killed thousands of civilians suspected of aiding anti-capitalist indigenous rebels in Rabinal and other largely Mayan communities. Peace accords largely brought a halt to the bloody civil war in December 1996, but not before 200,000 Guatemalans were murdered by the military. Ríos Montt came to Rabinal to meet with members of his party, the Guatemalan Republican Front, and to do advocacy work for his plan to seek presidency in the November elections. On July 7, Guatemala’s supreme court denied Montt the right to seek presidency, noting that it was “obviously inappropriate.”

July 6, Mexico:  
Mass Revolt Against National Elections

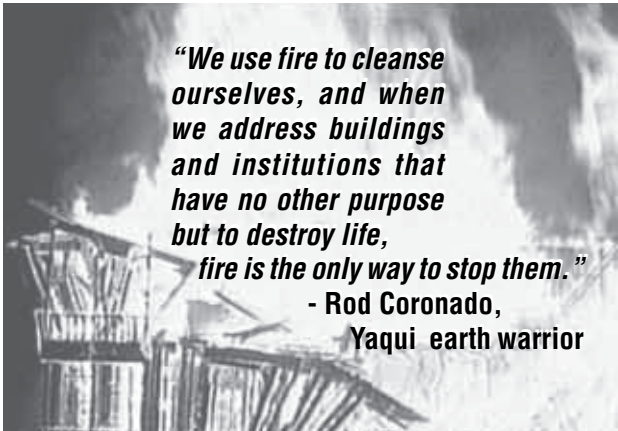
The People’s Front in Defence of the Land (Frente de Pueblos en Defensa de la Tierra) asked people to abstain from voting in Mexico’s national elections on July 6, 2003. In Chiapas, more than 200 Zapatistas attacked voting booths and burned ballots. Residents of the autonomous town of San Salvador Atenco set up barricades in the streets and set them on fire. Farmers vandalized advertisements for political parties, attacked polling booths and tried to prevent people from voting. An insurrection in Atenco last year forced the Mexican government to abandon plans to build a new airport on farmland in the area, after Atenco residents burned police vehicles and took police officers hostage. The Mexican Independent Media Center called the elections a farce and said that 50 percent of the total registered voters had chosen to abstain from the process.



“We must never underestimate our enemy. Our enemy is committed against us twenty-four hours a day. They use one hundred percent of their effort to maintain their materialistic status quo. One hundred percent of their effort goes into deceiving us and manipulating us against each other. We have to devote our lives, we have to make our commitment, we have to follow a way of life that says we are going to resist that forever... A resistance: something we can pass on as strength to the coming generations.”

— John Trudell





**Late March, Michigan:**  
**ELF Attacks Urban Sprawl**  
Through media reports, the ELF Press Office has recently been made aware of an ELF action that had not been reported on in the previous issue of *“Green Anarchy”*. Although the press office received no direct communications about this action, spray painted “signatures” at one site indicates a claim of responsibility by ELF activists. Two houses burned in an upscale suburban development. An apparent anti-sprawl action, graffiti left at the scene claimed the work as that of the ELF. The two houses were both in the late stages of construction. In particular, one of the homes had only two weeks to go until completion. Damage totals are estimated at approximately \$400,000. These were the third and fourth fires in this subdivision since September 2002, though the earlier two were not claimed by any group. The graffiti left on the back of the garage of a nearby home under construction said, *“ELF-NO SPRAWL”*.

**June 3-4:**  
**ELF Strikes Twice in 48 Hours Against Urban Sprawl**  
**California:** The first action took place on June 3 in Chico, where a fire was set at the Sterling Oaks development in the middle of the night, with graffiti left at the scene reading *“Save Our Bioregion-ELF”*. The fire did little damage due to water on the scene which doused the flames. A communiqué was received by ELF press office claiming responsibility for the action: *At about 2:45 am ELF set fire to a luxury home at 145 Sterling Oaks Drive in Chico, CA. We used a napalm incendiary. It would have burnt to the ground if the pvc pipe containing water didn't put out the flame. The pvc pipe caught on fire and released the water. The damage ended up being minimal to our dissatisfaction. We targeted these luxury homes due to the damage to the bioregion that occurs through development. Chico is slowly becoming victim to sprawl and we will not sit back as all that is natural and beautiful is destroyed. Civilization as a whole has proved to be detrimental to humans and non human animals. We won't settle for anything less than complete collapse.*  
*Liberation for all life*  
*Earth Liberation Front*

**Michigan:** The second ELF action took place on June 4, when a pair of houses under construction in Washington Township were burned in yet another upscale suburban development. The two houses under construction had combined value of \$700,000. Graffiti reading “ELF” and “Stop Sprawl” were spray-painted on nearby construction equipment. The Earth Liberation Front Press Office received an anonymous communiqué in July from the ELF claiming responsibility for the “anti sprawl” fires that took place the month earlier. The communiqué by ELF follows: *The Earth Liberation Front is taking credit for the June 4, 2003 decimation of two under construction homes in the so-called Willow Ridge development in Macomb County, Michigan. Both were completely destroyed. While all too many of us mourn the losses of the great forests of the Western United States, the destruction of tropical rain forests and the plight of endangered birds in other ends of the world, tragedy is upon us here in our backyards. For too long, we, the people of Michigan, have allowed our magnificent forests to be leveled and shipped off, our water to be poisoned and now, greed driven developers are trying to marginalize off the last green spaces and habitat of our unknown Edens. We pray for the recovery of our neighboring Peregrine falcons, the wild ducks that depend on our prairie wetlands, the Lake sturgeon, and all others on the brink...but like the sly cougar, we wait in the shadows, knowing that one day we will thrive again in harmony with the Earth.*

# Fighting For Our Last Breaths

## A Celebration of Recent Earth Liberation Actions

**June 29, UK:**  
**GM Crops Get Trashed**  
**Berkshire:** GOGM protesters broke into the Jealott's Hill Research Centre and destroyed part of a plot of genetically modified wheat. The demonstrators say they cut through two wire fences, but were not challenged by either security or police. The group of protesters, which does not have a name, claim the GM crop was about to pollinate and spread GM material into the surrounding countryside. The facility where the genetically modified wheat crop is being developed is owned by Syngenta-one of the world's largest agro-chemical companies. One member of the group who invaded the research center and trampled the crops—“Pipa Gallop”—said, “The public has said a resounding “NO” to GM crops, but the government isn't listening. Taking direct action to decontaminate trials ourselves is the only way we can stop GM before it is too late.”

**July 15-16, Oregon:**  
**Lumber Mill is Site of Bomb Threat**  
**Jackson County:** On Tuesday, July 15, a battalion of local and state police responded to the Louisiana-Pacific plywood mill in Rogue River after a call from an unidentified individual stating there was a bomb in the mill. A mill employee reported seeing someone who was carrying a backpack fleeing through bushes on the perimeter of the mill as the first police unit arrived at about 10:30 pm. The mill was searched, but no bomb was found. On July 16, at 3:26 am, a police dispatcher received a call stating that an employee at the same Louisiana-Pacific mill has been assaulted and struck in the head by an unidentified person, also wearing a backpack, who then fled on foot. The assault occurred inside the mill. The bleeding employee was transported from the scene by ambulance. The FBI has joined local law enforcement agencies in investigating this case, and another threat against the Boise-Cascade mill in Medford also in July. Investigators say they're unsure whether the cases are related or if the two callers are the same person.

**August 1, California:**  
**The ELF Burn Huge Luxury Housing Development to the Ground!**  
**San Diego:** A fire that tore through a construction site, destroying the wood skeleton of a five-story apartment complex, is believed to have been set by the Earth Liberation Front. San Diego officials called in the FBI and the federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms to assist in the investigation after they discovered a banner nearby reading, *“If you build it, we will burn it,”* signed with the initials “ELF”.  
*The San Diego Times* sent an e-mail to ELF Press Office web site seeking comment, and received the following response: “The ELF press office has received no communiqué for the San Diego fire that took place Aug. 1, 2003, and thus cannot answer any questions as to why this location and city was chosen for the latest ELF action. The banner at the site reading, *“You build it - we burn it - ELF”* is a legitimate claim of responsibility by the Earth Liberation Front.” The fire in the city's upscale University Town Centre district near UC San Diego caused no injuries, but sent flames 100 feet into the air. More than 400 residents of apartments nearby were evacuated. The sprawling construction site covered nearly 34

acres and was to include 1,500 apartment units. Officials estimate the blaze caused as much as \$50 million in damage and burned with such intensity that it blew out glass panes and melted window shades in apartments blocks away. The construction site is in northern San Diego's so-called Golden Triangle, one of the region's faster-growing areas. Suspicions that the fire might have been set by a “terrorist” group rattled city officials and nearby building owners, who said they were beefing up security as a result. But some citizens have spoken openly in defense of this action, arguing for an end to the sprawl and limitless growth.



**Late August:**  
**ELF Hits Sport Utility Vehicles Again!**  
**West Covina:** Fires destroyed or damaged dozens of sport utility vehicles, burned a warehouse at an auto dealership. Vehicles at that location and at three other dealerships were spray-painted with slogans such as *“Fat, Lazy Americans.”* Another SUV was burned in front of a home. “With all the evidence ... it's highly likely it's an arson fire,” said Rick Genovese, fire marshal for West Covina, a Los Angeles suburb. The Earth Liberation Front issued an unsigned email Friday calling the incidents *“ELF actions,”* and the FBI was investigating the dealership fire as domestic terrorism, Police Chief Frank Wills said.  
The blazes at the Clippinger Chevrolet dealership broke out about 5 a.m. Flames destroyed about 20 vehicles, mostly Hummer H2s, which are luxury SUVs patterned after the military's workhorse Humvee. Another 20 vehicles were badly damaged. A separate blaze caved in a warehouse roof. There were no reports of injuries, but damage was initially estimated at \$1 million. SUVs at dealerships in nearby cities of Arcadia and Duarte were also vandalized, though there were no other fires. SUVs parked on residential streets in Monrovia were tagged with *“ELF”* and other slogans. Among the slogans written on the sides and hoods of vehicles were *“I (heart) Pollution”* and *“American Wastefulness.”*  
General Motors Corp. spokesman Brian Akre called the blaze a “reprehensible criminal act” and said the Detroit-based company, whose brands include Hummer and Chevrolet, was thankful that the fire didn't result in injuries. “If this was some kind of misguided attempt to make a political statement, those responsible should know that committing arson and putting property and people in danger is not the way to gain public support for their position,” Akre said.

**August 24-26, Virginia:**  
**SUV Vandalism on the Rise**  
**Richmond:** The tires of Sport Utility Vehicles were slashed in Henrico County, less than 48 hours after a similar attack left 13 damaged in Richmond. No calling cards were left behind, and no one has claimed responsibility. No other vehicles were targeted and damage estimates are unknown.



**September 3, Texas:**  
**Twenty SUVs Damaged in Attack**  
**Houston:** A car dealership was targeted for property damage, in which 20 SUVs had their windows shot out with pellet guns, tires slashed, and body paint scratched. No spray-painted message, or claim of responsibility has been reported. Bob Velasco, the Houston dealership's sales manager told the press that the incident appeared to be political. “They didn't hit anything but the big SUVs.”

**Sept. 4, New Mexico:**  
**Yet More SUVs Vandalized**  
**Santa Fe:** More than a dozen SUVs were covered in graffiti naming the seven deadly sins. The SUVs at the Land Rover dealership were painted with words like “Avarice” and “Gluttony” as well as the signature calling card, “ELF”. These attacks are becoming regular occurrences, and hopefully will have some impact on the profitability of these armored pig-mobiles.

**September 5, Nevada:**  
**Luxury Apartment Construction Site Goes Up in Flames!**  
**Las Vegas:** A massive fire burned through the apartments still under construction, causing about \$10 million dollars worth of damages. No one was injured in the blaze, which spread rapidly through the buildings that were close to completion, sending flames hundreds of feet into the air. The fire destroyed 23 buildings and 349 units, leaving only nine of the buildings standing. These types of actions have been on the increase, as the fight against the construction of civilization has been rekindled this summer. Let's hope this is just the beginning.

**September 8 France:**  
**French GM Maize Crop Attacked**  
**Paris:** An experimental genetically modified (GM) maize crop in southern France, owned by U.S. seeds giant Monsanto, has been attacked and destroyed, police said. Police did not say who was behind the attack on the approximately half hectare field, isolated in a forest in Magnesq. It had occurred a few hours after an anti-GM demonstration last week. Another of Monsanto's GM fields, also in the southwest of France near Toulouse, was destroyed in July.

**AS WE GO TO PRINT:**  
**September 19, California:**  
**Elves Hit Southern California Twice!**  
**San Diego:** Two Arsons, thought to be the work of the Earth Liberation Front, engulfed four homes under construction in Carmel Valley and Rancho Penesquitos. Banners were hung at one of the sites reading: *“Development = Destruction”, “Stop Raping Nature”,* and *“The Elves Are Mad”*. The damage has been estimated at approximately \$5 million. This brave action was taken in the midst of intense federal investigations of an August fire targeteting development in that same region which caused \$50 million in damages.

### In Animal Liberation News...

**August 25, Washington:**  
**The ALF Release 10,000 Mink**  
**Sultan:** Fencing was removed and nearly every cage was opened at a Washington mink farm. According to an email sent from the ALF to Seattle newspapers, *“It has shown through such efforts as the Mink Rehabilitation Project that farm raised mink can survive and flourish in the wild.”* This was at least the third mink release in the area in the past three years. Snohomish County mink farmers, who “raise” half the state's minks, are worried that there will be more releases soon. “These people are on pins and needles,” said Teresa Platt, executive director of the industry group Fur Commission USA. “The pattern with these groups is to hit again, and in a short period of time.” We can only hope so.  
**Check-out: [www.nocompromise.org](http://www.nocompromise.org) and [www.DirectAction.info](http://www.DirectAction.info)**



# back to basics



back to basics



# back to basics



# back to basics



# WE WILL MAKE “TOTAL DESTRUCTION” OF ALL AUTHORITY! Anarchist Resistance From Around The World

**“Hornpot! We won’t have destroyed a thing until we demolish even the ruins!”**  
—Alfred Jarry (1873-1907)

## May 31, Iowa: Homophobic Reverend Creamed With Pies

**DES MOINES:** The following is a communiqué by the Biotic Baking Brigade: “We, the recently spawned cell of Des Moines Biotic Baking Brigade claim all responsibility for the pie attack launched in the faces of the Fred Phelps goon squad. Our ‘pie-rect action’ is an expression of our disgust with the social-fascist tendencies of the ‘God Hates Fags’ mob squad and their petty ‘Westboro Baptist Church.’ We believe that there are no possibilities for collaboration between us and them and that all attempts and resources for resolution have been exhausted, which is why we put ourselves on the front lines of this new pastry intifada. The fascist tendencies of the Phelps cult include a wide array of disturbing and cruel tactics targeted at homosexuals nationwide. Particularly, the picketing of Mathew Shepard’s funeral, the 21-year-old University of Wyoming student who was brutally beaten, tied down to a split-rail fence and left to die, all because he was a homosexual. Today, Phelps and his homophobic goonies attempted to wage their foul war against an innocent gay high school graduate receiving the Mathew Shepard scholarship award. Fred Phelps describes why he opposes the young graduate in his official press release for his protest, ‘God hates Des Moines Public Schools & Lincoln Public High where the administrators & faculty are Satan’s Pied Pipers leading kids to fag sin, death & Hell.’ But, we know now that the only ‘Pied’ pipers today are Fred Phelps and company. In solidarity we stand with Gays, Lesbians, Bi-Sexuals and Transsexuals everywhere. With our heads held high and our baked goods in hand, we are the cream topping on the pie tin of gay liberation and we unite under the motto, ‘There will be no peace, as long as there is pie and there will be pie as long as there are fascists.’ Fascist gay-bashers everywhere be warned... the pies are in the oven. Signed. - **DSM-BBB Infantry Division No. 515 (The Angry Marmalades) Press Department.**”

We applaud the actions by the Angry Marmalades against obvious moralist assholes, but wonder if a less “sweet” action is not also warranted.

## June 21, Greece: Anarchists Go On Offensive At Summit

**THESSALONIKI:** An estimated 125,000 protesters gathered for five days in this Greek city to sabotage the latest European Union Economic Summit. Greece deployed 16,000 troops and police across the scenic coastal. In an effort to avoid trouble, Greece switched the summit from the port of Thessaloniki to Porto Carras, which was more easily blocked off. Police fired teargas in Greece’s second largest city to disperse about 200 anarchists who smashed shop windows and set fire to buildings including a McDonald’s. Anarchists were among 25,000 anti-capitalist protesters who marched through Thessaloniki’s center in late afternoon about 50 miles west of where a European Union summit ended earlier in the day. They threw petrol bombs into the McDonald’s, while others attacked nearby shops with axes and sticks. Demonstrators also torched a Vodafone store, and spray painted messages like “Long live September 11<sup>th</sup>” on the many boarded and barricaded shops throughout the city. Riot police rounded up small groups of demonstrators, beating them with sticks and



**Greek anarchists battle pigs at the European Union Economic Summit in Thessaloniki last June.**

spraying tear gas. “There have been around 25 to 30 arrests and several people have been rushed to hospital with breathing problems,” a pig official said. At one point, the front line of the Black Bloc clashed with both cops and communist party members - some anarchists were said to have been beaten-up by communists. About a dozen shop and building entrances as well as cars were on fire. Thick smoke and clouds of tear gas billowed from the city center. The demonstrators were overwhelmingly Greek although there was a sprinkling from Britain, Germany, Scandinavia and Italy. Some barricaded themselves near the city’s university, the country’s largest, using blazing garbage bins as road blocks. Anarchists shot fireworks at journalists who were situated on the terraces of flats within 100 meters of the university. Clashes with police continued throughout the night.

Thousands of militant radicals also moved on the red zone around the summit location. About 800 people from the Anti-authoritarian Movement Salonica moved through a countryside road towards the summit in the seaside resort of Porto Carras, while another autonomous bloc of about 300 people tried to break through police lines blocking a bridge. Police used massive amounts of CS gas and other chemical weaponry to force people to retreat. Meanwhile, the Struggle Initiative bloc of more than 1,000 people tried to break into the red zone through a beach road, but they were also obliged to retreat after vast quantities of chemical weapons were deployed by riot police. Greece thankfully handed over the rotating six-month EU presidency to Italy on July 1.

## From a statement by Greek Anarchists BACK TO THE STREETS, released before the EU Summit: “Against the EU Summit in Thessaloniki AGAINST EVERY STATE AND AUTHORITY”

“The phenomenon of globalization is not something new. We can talk about globalization since the Roman or the Byzantine ages. Today, the ruling ones, united more than ever, after the union of regimes in 1989, continue their crimes against humanity, bombing people, imposing poverty onto lots of social groups, destroying nature more than ever, preparing new technological monsters, clones, etc.

...Rage has been clearly declared in Amsterdam, Prague, Quebec, Naples, Nice, Athens, Goetheborg, Genoa, and Evian. In all those mobilizations against authoritarian summits people lived through the state’s terrorist tactics, Westberg’s shooting, Carlos Giuliani’s murder in Genoa, choked tear gas and various poisonous substances spread by cops, got beaten and humiliated by the pigs. BUT they are still fighting, ignoring cameras, water cannons, laws, prosecutions, arrests, and imprisonment.

...The participation of anarchists in all those mobilizations is obviously important, taking into mind their contribution to declare human resistance against global authorities. It is a fact that through those mobilizations there is a chance given to other people fighting for freedom, not necessarily anarchists and anti-authoritarians, to realize the

necessity to organize their dreams offensively and reject the syndicalist and left fairy tales.

“Cause... IF REMORSE WON’T STOP THEM, THEN FEAR WILL! INDISCIPLINE AND DISOBEDIENCE FOR A LIFE WITHOUT LAWS, BORDERS AND NATIONS!”

## From another Greek Anarchist Statement: “Summit of European Union’s Criminals and Terrorists”

“We are not welcoming our enemies. Because we don’t plan to be simple spectators of another show made by the company of European Union’s criminals. Their integration means unification of their institutions and mechanisms. And this means the strengthening of repression and exploitation.

...We are not welcoming our enemies. And we don’t forget that the wannabe fixers will once again take the place determined by the ruling ones. All those that have participated in obvious and non-obvious negotiations, so as not to disrupt the regular functioning of the summit. All those that talk about an alternative globalization, giving their credentials, declaring that it is time for demonstrations to stop. So, the enemies will be gathering outside the city, the fixers are playing a strategical game, and supporters of resignation of every kind appear willing to enter the political game and contribute silently to order. It’s the pomposity of the slave who applauds slavery, the same moment that terror in every form is becoming the means for every form of slavery to prevail in the new “globalization era.” However, from Amsterdam to Seattle, to Prague, Genoa and Evian, the summits of G8, IMF, World Bank, NATO, E.U. and WTO were faced as what they really are: As a gathering of all these coming to seal up the extermination and poverty of all those people on the planet.

...We don’t plan to go with the logic of defeatism and silent compromise, leading to new slaughters, tighter chains, and thousands of refugees. That’s why we will continue not to tolerate the politics that muzzles and guides the dashing tempers to confront anything that preserves and reproduces repression and exploitation. Because we believe that the “new age” vainly tries to wipe out the words revolution, rebellion, and social self-defense.

...Since remorse won’t stop them, however, LET SOCIAL RAGE STOP ‘EM!

—Anarchist Coil”

## Early July, Holland: Sabotage Against Greek Tourist Office

**AMSTERDAM:** According to an anonymous flyer, the Greek tourist office in Amsterdam was sabotaged twice. Several bottles of red paint were thrown against the office, a window was broken and the sentence “Free Thessaloniki prisoners” was written together with a circle-A symbol. The following night several windows were broken with hammers. The flyer called for direct action against Greek interests and for preparations to act more effectively if the prisoners are not released soon.

## August 2, Cuba: Spanish Revolution Celebrated in Secret

Approximately 30 independent syndicalists, anarchists and sympathizers, celebrated for the first time in Cuba the anniversary of the Spanish anarchist revolution. The event took place in the capital neighborhood of La Víbora, in the home of one of the comrades who called for this commemoration. One of the young men present at this event, declared “the hour is come to make reborn the anarchist ideal in Cuba, condemned to hibernate for more than 40 years because of Castroist authoritarianism”. In Cuba, the anarchist ideas had a protagonist role in the workers struggles and the struggle during the colonial period and during the first half of last century, with active participation in the downfall of the Machado and Batista dictatorships. Castro dismantled the anarchist associations and condemned to prison or to exile the most well known activists from the Cuban anarchist movement.

# SABOTAGE AND THE GRAMMAR OF POLITICS

## Esso (it)\*, us, you, them

[\*The Italian subtitle was “Esso, noi, voi, loro”. Esso is both the name of the company supplying fuel for war operations and the Italian word for “it”. Unfortunately, the wordplay does not translate well.]

IN THE PAST FEW DAYS, BETWEEN TRENTO AND Rovereto, some distributors of Esso have been sabotaged by anonymous hands. The multinational, as is known, has won the contract for supplying American military vehicles with fuel. “Gasoline of death”, so many pacifists have defined it, from the moment that the company literally enriched itself on the hides of hundreds of thousands of Iraqis that the American army is prepared to massacre. A small action against the war, then. Even miniscule, if you will, but concrete, while throughout Italy it is said that disarming the war is possible. According to newspapers, the pumps were cut and the self-service was blocked with silicone: thus there was not any danger that the fuel would go out.

The logic of Politics is capable of every form of contortion. From the *Disobbedienti* to *Popolari*, passing through *Lilliput*, *Rifondazione* and *CGIL*, there has been a unanimous chorus of condemnation (the right has obviously aggravated the matter). The little act of sabotage has become an “ignoble” gesture (*Rifondazione*), “illegitimate and violent” (*Lilliput*), of “such gravity, danger and insensitivity” (*CGIL*), “criminal” (*Disobbedienti*), absolutely “an act of war” (*Popolari*). The councilor of *Rifondazione*, Donatello Baldo, “in order not to lose even one pacifist”, has thrown himself into the squaring of the circle: this act of sabotage damages the gas stations while the boycott (i.e., the fact that no one gets gas at Esso) damages the multinational. The distributors become “workplaces” which some “vandal” has “devastated” (*Rifondazione*). But the arms factories that the *Disobbedienti* threatened to blockade, aren’t they also “workplaces”?

The condemnation does not, in fact, relate to the “violent” character of these acts of sabotage (it really requires some audacity to describe the damaging of a machine that gives out the “gasoline of death” as “violence”; no one has described the unknowns who tried to block the “trains of death” with little acts of sabotage at the signal posts of the railroad lines as “violent”). What is truly intolerable for all the vultures of Politics is widespread illegal action, i.e., every practice that it is not possible to centralize in symbolic protests agreed upon with journalists and the police commissioner’s office. In fact “certain movements” are targeted that want the “radicalization of the conflict” as followed during and after Genoa. It is thanks to collaborators like Baldo that some comrades are still in prison for the revolt against the G8, and that the democratic repression spreads. The problem, for those who work hand in hand with the institutions, is not violence (the worst violence of the state and capitalism is perfectly *legal*), but a movement that couldn’t give a damn for a legality that guarantees planetary exploitation and war.

For our part, we greet these little acts of sabotage with joy, with the hope that the opposition to the war and to the world that produces it throws off all control on the part of parties, unions and various associative rackets. And this relates to us, you, everyone. The grammar of rebellion has a single subject (the politician) only for those who speak the language of power.

**Some anarchist anti-militarists**  
(10/03/03)



**Anarchists attempt to penetrate the European Union Summit’s “Red Zone.”**



# FIGHTING FOR FREEDOM

**May 29, New Brunswick:  
Military Truck Stolen From Mall**

FREDERICTON: Police are looking for a military truck stolen from the Regent Mall parking lot. “This is not the first theft that we have experienced from the parking lot of a mall or other business and I suspect that it probably won’t be the last one that we experience. It’s just one of those things that people, if they have knowledge, or access, or are specialized in stealing vehicles and if they can do it quickly, and with a degree of anonymity, they’ll take advantage of that and do it,” said Constable Peter Vail of the equipment owned by the Department of National Defense. The truck and its contents are valued at about \$80,000.

**May 31, Spain:  
Two Cops Die in Car Bombing**

SANGUESA: A car bomb allegedly placed by Basque separatists exploded in Northern Spain killing two cops and prompting the prime minister to cancel plans to attend a summit in Russia. A third cop was severely wounded, as were five civilians, in the early afternoon attack that shattered windows and set cars ablaze in the town of Sanguesa in Navarra province. The cops had just returned to their car from a nearby government building when the bomb exploded from beneath their car. There was no immediate claim of responsibility, but Deputy Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy was quick to place the blame on ETA, a group that often uses car bombs in its campaign for a Basque homeland in Northern Spain and southwestern France. Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA) is a Basque Nationalist clandestine organization that engages in armed struggle to free Basque country from colonial occupation and the institutional governing structures of both the Spanish and French states, with the goal of establishing an independent, Socialist Basque nation. In 1998, after twenty years of armed struggle, ETA announced a unilateral cease-fire with their two historic enemies, believing their struggle to be entering a hopeful new phase on the road to sovereignty. On December 3, 1999, tired of the secret, dirty political deals between the repressive states of Spain and France, ETA ended its 14-month cease fire and resumed the armed struggle.

The Winter 1999/2000 issue (#17) of the Canadian autonomist/anti-imperialist journal, *Arm the Spirit*, reproduces many of the communiqués ETA released during this period of time, and also includes an interview with several ETA members. It can be ordered for \$5.00 from ***Arm the Spirit*, PO Box 6326, Stn. A, Toronto, Ontario M5W1P7, Canada.** We hope to publish some anarchist analysis of the Basque liberation struggle in future issues of *Green Anarchy*.



**June 1-3, France:  
Mass Action Against G8 Summit**

EVIAN: Representatives of the wealthiest and most powerful nations in the world met again to determine the future of the planet. The night before the summit began, demonstrators set fires all around the nearby lake to “welcome” the G8 as people in Geneva attacked storefronts in that city.

As French, German and Swiss robocops attacked with concussion bombs and smoking chemicals, 100,000 people took over the streets of Geneva to resist the gathering of the world’s richest 8 states. On June 1, more than 1,000 people demonstrated in remembrance of Carlo Giuliani, who was murdered by the Italian police during the 2001 anti-G8 protests in Genoa. The Schengen Agreement, which purportedly guarantees free movement of EU passport holders within Fortress Europe, was suspended, but that didn’t stop some demonstrators from starting up the ruckus. On June 2, nearly 20,000 police covered the city center of Evian with a blanket of tear gas as anarchists and anti-capitalists

## Anti-Capitalist and Anti-Imperialist Battles from Around the World

smashed most of the exposed glass in the area, earning applause from demonstrators on the street and condemnations in the media from demonstration organizers. Two buildings were torched with molotov cocktails and several vehicles were destroyed, while clothing shops and petrol stations were smashed and ransacked. One demonstrator was seriously injured after falling from a bridge when a cop piece of shit cut the rope from which he was hanging to spread a banner.

**June, France:  
Class War Escalates Across the Country!**

The social movement against the French government’s planned pension “reforms” has been escalating since it began in May of 2003. Hundreds of thousands of workers took part in two general strikes and massive demonstrations throughout the month to oppose reforms that will force people to work longer to receive full pensions. On June 3, about 5,000 people in Calais marched to a highway and were brutally attacked by riot police with batons and tear gas. On June 5, the regional office of the employers’ federation MEDEF in the port of La Rochelle was set on fire and several other MEDEF offices across the country were attacked. On June 6, striking workers disrupted train and bus service in Marseille and Paris. Demonstrators cut power lines at the Gare de Lyon train station in Paris, halting trains for hours. Striking bus workers and supporters blockaded a bus depot in the northern suburbs of Paris, armed themselves with baseball bats and fought with riot police. Sanitation workers in Lyon dumped garbage in front of City Hall. Striking teachers also occupied bus depots and train tracks. On June 10, tens of thousands of people marched through Paris, as France was hit with its third general strike since the beginning of May. Clashes with the police broke out in front of the National Assembly, while politicians discussed the reforms inside. Striking workers and a contingent of about 100 anarchists fought back against baton charges, tear gas and water cannon attacks by tearing up cobblestones and throwing them at the riot police. Barricades were built in the streets and set on fire, as police drove the demonstrators back. About 350 people escaped into an opera building, only to be attacked again by riot cops. 60 people were arrested. Societe Generale economist Olivier Gasnier commented on the day’s events by saying, “The radicalization of the strikes, the images of violence like those seen in Paris could disturb consumers’ peace of mind.” The strikes have cost the French economy hundreds of millions of dollars and are frightening away investors. In Lille workers set fire to the Coventry factory and took packages of detergent to the demonstration downtown where tens of thousands were marching through the streets. Strikers threw the packages of detergent at riot police for an hour, giving the filthy pigs a good wash. Police then fired tear gas, charged the demonstrators and beat some of them with batons. At 5:00 am in the morning hundreds of dock workers, railway workers and fish merchants set up blockades at the port in Boulogne sur Mer, set them on fire and defended them against riot police tear gas attacks until 4:00 am the next day. In Nice workers occupied the National Theatre of Nice, produced leaflets explaining their action and used the space to hold meetings concerning the social struggle. Demonstrations also took place in Marseille, Rouen and Nantes. On June 11, 200 people took over and occupied the Town Hall in Toulouse and closed the doors to the police. On June 12, the National Opera of Lyon was occupied by 200 people and the space was used to hold assemblies and plan future actions. Another action targeted the Pathé Cinema in Lyon, forcing it to shut down for the day. In Lille three major highways were blocked by groups of 300 students, workers and unemployed people. A spontaneous demonstration of more than 1,000 people marched through the streets of the city, as people blocked the doors of businesses and government offices with trash bins and attempted to push through riot police lines. The office of the Union of the Presidential Majority (UMP) was trashed as workers dumped garbage, water and detergent inside the buildings. Demonstrators chanted, “UMP state! Police state!”

Major road blockades were also set up in Toulouse, Avignon, Paris, Bastia, Perpignan, Toulon and Marseilles. The social war continues as direct action and sabotage spread across France, disturbing the peace of the ruling class.

**June 13, Indonesia:  
Boss Speared After Sacking Of Workers**

JAKARTA: Workers fired from a Volvo dealership attacked their Swedish boss with spears during a dispute over severance pay. Michael Olsson was stabbed in the back and slashed in the face at a meeting with the workers in Balikpapan, East Kalimantan on the island of Borneo. Four men have been arrested in the attack. Three were among 31 workers who had recently been fired from the dealership. Olsson, an executive with local Volvo dealer PT Eka Dharma, was negotiating with the workers, who were demanding that eight managers also be fired and that the company give them \$1.2 million in compensation. Some tribal groups on Borneo island have carried out bloody attacks in recent years on settlers from other parts of Indonesia. Labor strife is common in Indonesia and is partly to blame for a drop in foreign investment in recent years. Multinationals complain of having to endure violent strikes and villagers who attempt to appropriate money by blockading roads and attacking facilities.

**June 13, Cambodia:  
Workers Kill Cop During Protest, Threaten To Burn Down Factory**

PHNOM PHEN: Police opened fire on stone-throwing factory workers demanding higher wages, a clash that left at least two people dead and 26 injured, most of them cops. The workers had been demonstrating peacefully for the last five days in front of the garment factory on the outskirts of the capital, but the protest turned violent when police blocked them from marching toward the city’s center. The workers threw stones at police, who fired into the crowd. One worker was killed by a bullet wound to the chest and a pig died after being hit on the head with a stone.

The Terratex Knitting Garment International Factory is owned by a Hong Kong businessman. Workers demanded higher salaries and the reinstatement of a recently fired union worker. A pig defended the police action. “They wanted to burn the factory, that’s why we had to stop them,”

he told The Associated Press. Cabinet spokesman Khieu Thavika said 26 people were injured. Eighteen were cops, police said. The wounded protesters included a woman struck by shrapnel and three men hit by bullets, according to witnesses. The demonstrators, numbering a few hundred, regrouped in alleys after the shooting and set fire to a motorcycle as police reinforcements and fire trucks arrived in the area. Other factories closed when hundreds of workers walked off their jobs, adding to the confusion. The garment industry is Cambodia’s main source of foreign revenue and urban employment, with about 200,000 people working in more than 200 factories. Cambodia exports about \$1 billion in textiles each year, mostly to the United States.



**June 20-25, California:  
Thousands Protest WTO Biotech**

SACRAMENTO: Billed as possibly the “next Seattle,” only a few thousand turned out to demonstrate against the agricultural branch of the World Trade Organization. The crowd was a mix of liberals, anti-globalization activists, environmentalists, and anarchists. The first day started off with some dumpster fires and marches, but the incredible police presence gave an indication of what protesters would be up against. The next day saw minor resistance in the streets, including a decent size black bloc, but the march was quickly funneled by the pigs (and their plain-clothes liberal helpers) into the park where it began. Along with helicopters, armored pig-mobiles, tazers, and at some accounts a 4-1 pig to anarchist ratio, the black bloc was fragmented and promptly suffocated. Drums, people in groups larger than 10, and masks were made illegal during the convergence, where the energy, preparation, and numbers of protesters seemed no match for the overwhelming police presence. According to one anarchist, “The three days served as a lesson that tactics need to be re-evaluated.” The “Days of Action” in the U.S. have become stale and predictable and filled with many who are no allies to anarchists.



AS WE GO TO PRESS...

**September 10-14, Mexico:  
WTO Talks Collapse**

CANCUN: The 5th Ministerial meeting of the World Trade Organization collapsed on September 14 following four days of mass demonstrations which provided developing nations with political leverage to achieve equal footing with wealthier countries. Caught between worldwide protests and a “G21” coalition of developing nations within the WTO, the rich nations failed to impose their will and failed to divide the G21, and are now talking about scrapping the WTO altogether.

An estimated 10,000 people marched against the WTO on September 14 and to commemorate the death of South Korean farmer Lee Kyung-hae, who took his own life in protest against the WTO’s agricultural policies. When the march arrived at the police barricade at “kilometer Zero,” an all-female bloc of activists dismantled the checkpoint fence as an anarchist security cordon guarded the flanks. As the developing countries, led by African delegates, walked out of the summit, anti-globalization activists declared victory. (More on Cancun in the next issue of *Green Anarchy*.)




**July 7: Police Attack Anti-IMF Protestors**  
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC: Hundreds of people, mobilized by popular organizations, protested against price hikes and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Confrontations with police left several injured. The police fired gunshots and tear gas bombs at the hundreds of protestors, some on donkeys, some on bicycles and others on foot, who were marching against the signing of an accord between the government and the IMF.

**July 10-11, Greece: Arson Attack in Solidarity with N17**  
ATHENS: A newly appeared militant group claimed responsibility for the attempted bombing of an American insurance company, raising fears of renewed urban violence ahead of the 2004 Olympics. Calling itself Popular Revolutionary Action, the group said it targeted the central Athens offices of the American Life Insurance Co. on July 11 as an act “*against American imperialism and its local minions.*” No one was hurt when the bomb was destroyed by controlled explosion. Police said the five-page statement, sent to an Athens newspaper, resembled proclamations issued the disbanded Greek terrorist organization November 17, whose alleged members are currently on trial. In the statement, the group said it would not carry out attacks during the Olympic Games. But the possible resurgence of far left urban guerrilla groups would unsettle Greek authorities who said they had defeated domestic terrorism after a crackdown last year on November 17. On July 10, a police car and a bank branch were damaged in arson attacks believed to have been carried out by anarchists, also out of solidarity with November 17. (See Issues #10-13 of *Green Anarchy*, and the current “Letters” section for more information and analysis on N17.)

**July 29, Nigeria: Village Women Control Oil Site**  
WARRI: Toting babies and stirring cooking pots, village women occupied a Shell Oil installation in a peaceful demonstration amid surging ethnic violence in Nigeria’s restive oil delta. At least 20 people have been killed in the Niger Delta since mid-July in attacks allegedly linked to tribal competition for oil revenues. The 80 local women, aged 25 to 60, have set up house in Shell’s Amukpe pipeline station, after a takeover in early July. They were demanding the company’s Nigerian subsidiary keep its promises of jobs and other benefits for villages in the forested Niger Delta. The women captured the station by driving out workers and changing the locks, protestors said. Their action comes in response to the company’s moves to build a chain-link fence around the station - preventing the women from drying the vital local staple, manioc, in the heat of gas, flared as an unwanted byproduct of oil. Shell officials said the company had fenced off the site to protect villagers from being hurt by the burning gas. The women’s protest forced the company to shut the pumping station, which normally accounts for production of 40,000 barrels of crude a day. Altogether, a wave of protests, kidnappings and ethnic violence since March have led Shell and Chevron/Texaco to cut production by a total of 300,000 barrels of crude a day - one-eighth of Nigeria’s total production of 2.2 million barrels daily. Nigeria is Africa’s largest oil exporter and the fifth-biggest source of U.S. oil imports. Women have taken over oil installations before over the past year, but Niger Delta residents charge that oil companies are slow to keep the promises they make in negotiations to end the takeovers. Ethnic tensions, meanwhile, are running in nearby towns and villages defended by troops in sand-bagged emplacements after rival Ijaw and Itsekiris tribal fighters launched retaliatory raids. Villagers said the tribal battles were motivated by competition over oil profits. Activists have long accused the Nigerian government and multi-nationals of diverting most of the money away from the Delta—where most of Nigeria’s oil is pumped—and leaving ethnic militants to fight over the remainder. Despite its mineral riches, the Delta is one of Nigeria’s most impoverished regions.

**August 14, Chile: Police Attack Demonstrators During First General Strike Since Pinochet**  
SANTIAGO: A clash between police and protestors injured one cop and resulted in some 70 arrests during Chile’s first general strike since the fall of the Pinochet regime 13 years ago. The clash broke out when police tried to block protestors from marching along Santiago’s main street, near the presidential palace. Police used tear gas and water cannons to break up the crowd, which responded with sticks and stones. The cop was injured as a group attacked police vehicles. About 3,000

marchers participated. Protesters also tried to block roads near Chile’s copper mines. Chile’s main labor federation, CUT, called the strike to demand more dignified treatment for workers and a rollback of the country’s free-market economic policies. The CUT labor federation claimed to have stopped 80 percent of business activity. A bus was sprayed with petrol and set alight in the Renca district of northern Santiago after the driver was threatened with a gun. It was not known who carried out the attacks. Twelve were arrested in a working class neighborhood, La Florida, when drivers blocked the principal street with their taxis. In the port of San Antonio, 100 kilometers (60 miles) west of Santiago, a dozen protestors were arrested after a CUT meeting. About 150 cars and trucks blocked the road between Calama and the Chuquicama copper mine, 1,250 kilometers (775 miles) north of Santiago, in a bid to keep workers away from the key facility. Police thwarted a similar attempt to block a road that links Rancagua with the copper-rich area of El Teniente, some 100 kilometers (60 miles) south of the capital. The strike did not affect production at the mines, which are state owned and among the world’s main copper suppliers. In Punta Arenas, 2,180 kilometers (1,350 miles) south of Santiago, six protestors were arrested. Police disassembled a non-explosive artifact whose cables and batteries were made to resemble a bomb. Seven others were arrested in Rancagua, 80 kilometers (50 miles) south of Santiago. It was a series of strikes at Chile’s copper mines in the early 1980s that spelled the beginning of the end for the military dictatorship under Augusto Pinochet, which lasted from 1973 to 1990.



**August, Canada: Protesters Trash Buildings During World Economic Forum**  
**MONTREAL: As trade ministers from 25 countries met to discuss their schemes for global domination and exploitation, protesters rampaged through the streets and smashed up Burger King, the Gap and a Canadian Forces recruitment center. About 100 people were arrested.**

**August 26, Honduras: Riot Over IMF Reforms**  
TEGUCIGALPA: Demonstrators clashed with riot police in the capital city, as protests escalate against reforms ordered by the International Monetary Fund. Some protestors threw molotov cocktails and police responded with tear gas and rubber and wooden bullets. Twelve people and nine pigs were injured, buildings were damaged, including banks and a McDonald’s, and streets were blocked overnight by burning barricades. More than 100 organizations were involved, including unions, grassroots activists, and indigenous groups, making it the largest protest in Honduras in 10 years. People have been angered by the government’s efforts to secure a \$1 billion IMF loan, which comes, of course, with demands for sweeping deregulation, privatization of utilities, and wage-freezes for public-sector workers. Condemning the protests, President Ricardo Maduro insisted that he will not back down to “blackmail”.

**AS WE GO TO PRINT: September 5, Greece: Revolutionary Struggles Claims Bombing of Court Complex**  
ATHENS: Two powerful time-bombs exploded in Athens’ main court complex in attacks the government linked to the trial of suspected members of Greece’s largest urban guerrilla organization—the November 17 Revolutionary Group. The twin blasts, which injured a police officer and damaged a building in the closely guarded compound, also elevated concern among security officials preparing for the Athens Olympics now less than a year away.

***Note: We cannot cover all of the daily activities in worn-torn regions, such as Palestine and Iraq, but we hope to have an anarchist perspective on the Palestinian struggle in our next issue - Winter (#15), and check out the next page for an article on the Iraqi resistance to the U.S. War Machine.***



**April 27: Polar Bear Attacks US Submarine!**  
NORTHERN WATERS: A polar bear gnawed on the rudder of a US submarine and attacked it after the sub surfaced in the ice pack during maneuvers between the North Pole and Alaska, the US Navy reported. In a series of pictures captured on the periscope’s camera, the bear apparently chewed on the sub’s rudder, batted it around, and angrily stalked the vessel.

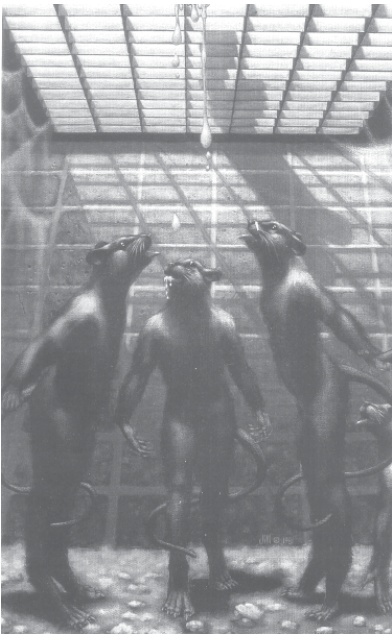
**June 18, Washington: Escaped Buffalo Continue to Elude Capture**  
UMATILLA: A herd of more than 30 buffalo roaming free on the Umatilla Indian Reservation has resisted round-up attempts for two months and tribal and county officials are getting desperate. The herd of buffalo was deliberately released on scrubland in Northeastern Oregon by a rancher who fled the country after being fined for allowing the buffalo to pollute a stream, said Umatilla County Sheriff John Trumbo. “He’s in Guatemala or southern Mexico, we’re not real sure where he’s at. Apparently, his last great act was to turn his buffalo loose on private, national forest and reservation property,” he said. The animals’ massive size and speed have hindered efforts by humans chasing them. “If that was a cattle herd that broke free, we’ve got all kinds of cowboys and dogs around here. But a buffalo... They’ll run a horse down or run away from a horse. They can *outrun* a horse.”

**June 19, Oregon: Cougar Helps Burglar Temporarily Get Away From Cops**  
MEDFORD: Two Wolf Creek men accused of burglarizing a Medford motorcycle store led four police agencies on a chase that eventually crossed paths with a cougar before finally ending in Grants Pass. The Oregon State Police joined the pursuit, laying two spiked strips across the freeway, with the second set of spikes finally stopping the speeding truck. Both men fled on foot into the woods, with the Medford cops close behind. One of the suspected burglars was quickly captured. But, in a strange encounter during the pursuit, two Medford cops ran smack into a cougar and immediately fled, allowing the second man to escape! “We saw two glowing eyes in the woods and as we walked closer, we saw they belonged to a cougar!” exclaimed one of the frazzled and scared shitless cops. Sadly though, the second suspect only evaded arrest overnight. He was identified and captured by police the next day.

**June 22, Pennsylvania: Vehicles Pile Up When Bird Gets Loose in Van**  
CRANBERRY: A bird escaped from its cage inside a minivan and distracted the driver, causing a three-vehicle pile up in which five people were injured. H. Dean Kinch was driving about 65 miles north of Pittsburgh when the bird got loose in his van. Kinch swerved into incoming traffic, colliding with a convertible. A motorcycle then crashed into the convertible and a traffic jam ensued.

**June 26, Australia: Military Base Hopping With Disobedient Kangaroos**  
CANBERRA: The Australian Defense Department is complaining that 36,000 kangaroos have overrun and are “overgrazing” one of their southeastern army bases. Military spokesperson Brigadier Mike Hannan said the plant-eating marsupials threatened the 104,000 acre Puckapunyal Army training-ground near Melbourne, and that the Australian Army is formulating plans to kill at least 15,000 of them.

*AS WE GO TO PRESS:*  
**Mid-September, East Coast: Hurricane Isabel Reminds Many of Mama’s Power**  
We just wanted to celebrate the fact that there are still amazing elements left in the world out of the prediction and control of civilization. We are still powerless against this force. All we can do is hold on tight.



# The Walls Are Shaking! Prisoner Uprisings and Revolts

**June 4, New Hampshire: Three Inmates Break Out of State Prison**  
CONCORD: Three prisoners escaped from a New Hampshire prison on a busy street by cutting through two fences. The prison was immediately locked down when the escape was discovered and armed officers went door to door through the nearby neighborhoods hoping to recapture the prisoners. State Police and National Guard helicopters joined the search. Prison officials said it was the first time in at least a decade that an escape has occurred from the medium security area of the prison, north of downtown Concord. State Police would not reveal how they cut the fences, at least one of which was topped by razor wire.

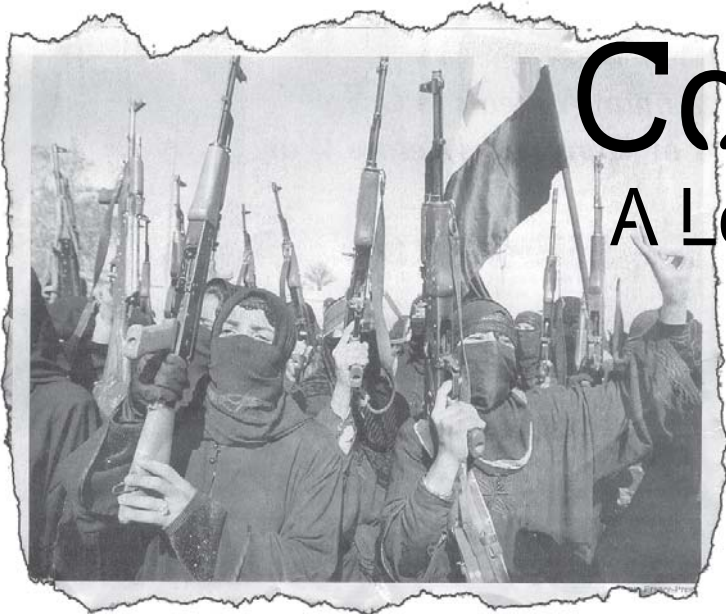
**June 23, Washington: Escaped Inmate Killed in Shootout With Police**  
MONROE: Harold McCord Jr., a 36 year old prisoner, escaped from the Pierce County Courthouse in Tacoma with the help of a cardboard gun he created in his cell. He was fatally wounded the following day in a shootout with police that also left a Monroe cop injured in the shoulder and forearm.





# Counting Coup!

## A Look at U.S. Military Casualties in Iraq



THE HOWLING WINDS OF THE ETERNAL BLOOD WAR that is civilization are now ripping through Iraq, marking the official emergence of the United States—a monstrous entity of unparalleled greed and wanton destruction — as a full-fledged global empire. Like a Great Butcher devouring with a thousand mouths, this heartless colossus is now attempting to “globalize” its grotesque slaughterhouse infrastructure and has passed a death sentence on its chief “rival” civilization: the Islamic cultures and nations of the East. The state-controlled mass media in the U.S. began vilifying and dehumanizing Arab peoples several years before 9/11, and now, like Nazi eugenicists, the ideologists and administrators of anglo-American superiority are moving to extirpate the “subhuman” Muslims as “weeds in the human garden.”

Since Vietnam, the U.S. military land grabs were generally pursued over long periods of time so as to gently acclimatize and lull the lobotomized consumer masses into accepting a giant, centralized super-state. Now, however, the Bush and Blair regimes are abandoning this “piecemeal” approach and are openly imposing their ever-expanding vortex of control with brutal swiftness and an iron fist. But the Palestinian revolt against Israeli occupation—and the Vietnamese victory over the U.S. military—should make it quite clear that even the most technologically sophisticated of armies will suffer a steady flow of casualties when attempting to “pacify” a hostile population.

Throughout the 1960s the Viet Cong extensively employed *deception* to bypass the admitted advantage the Americans enjoyed in terms of mass (mass numbers, massive firepower), cumulatively raising the enemy’s anxiety level and destroying their self-confidence. For example, the three components of the North Vietnamese Army were the “real army” (chinh binh), which was the overt military force; the “hidden army” (ky binh), which was covert, invisible, guerilla-like; and the “phantom army” (ngghi binh), which didn’t exist at all but which a good Vietnamese general could make his enemy believe *did* exist as a means of disorienting and intimidating him. This approach pulled the plug on the U.S. advantage in firepower (as they often had nothing to fire at!), keeping the American soldiers off balance and gradually wearing them out, until their will to continue the struggle was broken.

This “gnat-swarm” technique, comprised of small attacks that pinned down the Americans and reduced their initiatives, was pursued for a protracted period of time by the Vietnamese and was successful in demoralizing the enemy, which often felt like it was fighting a shadow. In response, large areas of Vietnam were defoliated with “agent orange,” which killed vegetation, and were set on fire from the air with petrol and napalm in a desperate genocidal program to expose the crafty and elusive Viet Cong. But defoliating Iraq is not an option for the Pentagon war hawks, for in this situation the “jungles” are cities like Baghdad, Bagouba and Tikrit, and the “vegetation” is made up of millions of Iraqis who all look alike to their racist, xenophobic invaders.

### A Vision of Battlements

*“Use humility to make them haughty. Tire them by flight. Cause division among them. Attack when they are unprepared, make your move when they do not expect it.”*

—Sun Tzu, *The Art of War*

After unleashing its terrifying war machine on a people it had systematically tortured for years, the arrogant and imperious Amerikan Empire is discovering the hard way that the Pentagon badly miscalculated the resistance that the “coalition” forces would encounter along the road to military occupation. Instead of cheering crowds, the white supremacist invasion

has met serious commando and martyrdom operations. The Iraqi population has evidently failed to see the benevolent intentions of their invaders; the initial euphoria and relief that many politically oppressed Iraqis felt when Saddam Hussein’s government collapsed was mistakenly confused with enthusiasm for their country’s takeover. Yet all the deadly aerial blitzkrieg of the Amerikan forces has done is give birth to a million “baby bin Ladens.”

Leftover hostility from the Gulf War and from the United States role in the Iran-Iraq War (as well as from sanctions that killed half a million Iraqi children) still simmers, and for the people in the streets, this is not “liberation” but a new colonial oppression. In bombed neighborhoods, everyone “wants to kill Americans.” “A year ago, on these streets, we would have yawned if someone had mentioned America to us,” said Khalid Iarah, a resident of al Kharmoug. “Now, look what they have done to us. Everyone feels this pain. Everyone here now wants to kill. Everyone here now wants to kill Americans.”

### Martyrs of American Aggression

For months, the U.S. government predicted that when “Coalition” troops entered Iraq they would be warmly greeted by a “grateful” people weary of

### Now It Is Killing That Animates Them

*“A military operation involves deception. Even though you are competent, appear to be incompetent. Though effective, appear to be ineffective.”*

—Sun Tzu, *The Art of War*

The failure of most “radicals” in North America to fully grasp the reality of what is happening in Iraq can be directly attributed to the insidious influence of an incoherent leftist worldview that infects even the anarchist movement like a festering, diseased “hive-mind.” The United States Left is fond of casually tossing around words like *imperialist*, but the overuse of that sort of rhetoric—minus radical analysis—renders it almost meaningless. Obviously, it’s hard to argue that there’s any real purpose to this war beyond promoting U.S. business interests—in a region that just happens to have the second-largest known oil reserves in the world. The Bush regime has never tried to hide their lust for Iraq’s oil fields. Indeed, the contracts for processing Iraq’s massive oil wealth have already been granted to Halliburton, Vice President Cheney’s old firm (small wonder that General Tommy Franks admitted that his first concern, prior to the war, was the “protection” of the southern Iraqi oil fields).

But “imperialism” doesn’t even begin to describe the magnitude of what is, fundamentally, nothing less than a plan to subjugate the entire world in the ultimate hegemonic chess game. The easiest way to understand the *real* intentions of the *real* powerbrokers is by thinking of a map of the world as one would in a game of *Risk*. We need to rise above the turbulence that fills the airwaves and wake



Saddam Hussein’s regime. But this has not occurred and neither has the lightning quick victory that U.S. officials guaranteed, due largely to military analysts in Washington underestimating the force of nationalism aroused when a country is invaded, no matter how hated its government may be. “The United States and the British were hoodwinked when they were told that the Iraqi people would receive them with flowers and hugs and jubilation, and the children and the mothers would rejoice at the coming of the U.S. forces,” said Iraqi’s ambassador, Mohammed Al-Douri.

Attacks against U.S. and British soldiers (now averaging more than 12 per day) are becoming more organized, more determined and more brazen, forcing the new chief of the U.S. Central Command to admit that U.S. forces are now battling a “classic” guerrilla war, coordinated on a regional level and involving a broad cross-section of the Iraqi population. Realizing the futility and impossibility of matching the U.S. occupation forces bomb for bomb and bullet for bullet, the Iraqi military chose to pursue a strategy of static warfare—what some call a “hedgohog defense”—rather than the “maneuver warfare” preached and practiced since World War II. The idea is not to defeat the American-led forces on the battlefield, but to make the fight so costly for them—in terms of publicly abhorrent military casualties—that they withdraw from the region. The main tactics in such a strategy are concealment, using geography as an instrument, and mixing military forces and the civilian population. In “static warfare” small squads or “cells” of resistance fighters blend in with the larger masses and engage in a series of little skirmishes with the occupying forces. No single one of these battles is very big. But add them up over the days and weeks and you’ve got hundreds of American soldiers being killed.

up to the fact that the “war for oil” paradigm only distracts us and wastes time and energy. Certainly, oil plays a role in what appears on TV, but the real purpose of this war is to capture and subdue strategic areas of landmasses and to advance a dark Empire of world government via the muscle of the United States. The war in Iraq is just the beginning of a multi-faceted attack on the entire human race — culturally, mentally, emotionally and physically. The basic goal is to dumb us down, divide us upon lines of race, religion and nationalistic views into easily subdued sects, and—when that doesn’t work—just kill the few who stand in the way.

The standard Marxist-Leninist anti-imperialist “analysis” is not only useless in helping anyone understand our planetary crisis, it sidelines too many radicals into structures where they cannot rebel effectively. This is due to the Left having no critique of Power itself, only discredited political/economic theories about who should be wielding the power. It is the nature of power to want to multiply itself, to expand exponentially; it is the nature of empires to constantly enlarge their territorial holdings, and it is the nature of the State to wage war. The New World Order is not a conspiracy theory inasmuch as the ruling class explicitly promotes its arrival.

Ignore the noise and bewilderment of the manufactured arguments concerning this alleged “war for oil” and you just might start to see the tentacles of control wrapping themselves around all of our lives. The New World Order is about the elimination of all resistance, period. In Iraq, the “globalists” are making the same example of an entire nation that they made of the Branch Davidians. Perfecting the power to impose the will of the State is the ultimate reason that perpetual war must be waged.

Myopic leftists have a hard time comprehending this, but the armed and defiant Iraqi people clearly don’t.

### Revengeful, Triumphant Hate

*“In ancient times skillful warriors first made themselves invisible, and then watched for vulnerability in their opponents.”*

—Sun Tzu, *The Art of War*

As the U.S. military juggernaut roared into gear, prepared to steam-roll Iraq into submission from land, sea and air, Saddam Hussein made a genuinely brilliant strategic move, issuing an international call to Jihad, or holy war, calling the U.S. invasion an aggression on the “stronghold of faith... and on the land of Islam.” The statement called Jihad a duty until the aggressors “withdraw from the lands of the Muslims, defeated and cursed in this life and the afterlife.” Almost immediately Arabs and North African Muslims—including Egyptians, Moroccans and Algerians—converged on Syria as a main transit route into Iraq, answering the daily calls of Iraqi officials to join the Jihad against U.S. troops battling their way toward Baghdad. Iraq claimed that within days of the initial U.S. attack more than 6,000 volunteers had arrived, with almost half of them willing to carry out suicide missions. “I’m not going because I am a Muslim, I am going because a so-called superpower has no right to bomb and kill to tell other people how to live their lives,” said a Sudanese volunteer. “I’m moving to do whatever I can to stick their superior power right back up their asses.”

A recent front-page article in the *New York Times*, titled “GIs in Iraqi City Are Stalked by Faceless Enemies at Night,” discusses how organized the Iraqi resistance is becoming. It seems to come alive at night and appears to involve a system of signaling among small groups of fighters that announce the presence of American forces. In the city of Fallujah, for example, there’s a system of honking the horns of cars: when any American convoy approaches, there’s one honk on the horn, and when the last vehicle goes by the same spot, there are two honks on the horn. The purpose is to work out the time element between the first honker and the second, because by that, they can determine how big the convoy is and whether it’s small enough to be attacked. The American state is officially calling these guerrilla attacks the work of “terrorists” or remnants of Saddam’s military forces. But in actuality, what the U.S. invasion has done is lift the veil on the real face of power in Iraq, an enormous Shiite Muslim bloc that is spread across the Middle East. This emerging bloc is poised to dominate politics in the entire region for years to come, and will undoubtedly produce unexpected consequences and complications for the architects of globalization in Iraq.

The U.S. Empire, which is used to thinking of the world in terms of individual nation-states, is now dealing with a transnational force of mammoth international influence. The brutality of the U.S. invasion unwittingly supplied the key linkage for the rise of a new enemy and set the stage for a religious World War. In bringing Iraq’s Shiite majority to the fore, a solid line of Shiite majority nations from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean Sea has been revealed. This force is magnified by the fact that devout Shiite followers all choose a “spiritual leader”—a person “worthy of emulation,” usually an Ayatollah. In the last four months numerous Ayatollahs have returned to Iraq, after decades of exile, and are aggressively trumpeting the call to Jihad among diverse segments of the Iraqi population who have no desire to be imperial subjects of the American Empire.

One of the most powerful and influential of these Ayatollahs is Bager al-Hakim, the leader of the Supreme Assembly of the Islamic Revolution of Iraq (SAIRI), who has a well-trained military group, the Badr Brigade, at his beck and call. Bager al-Hakim, like most Shiite leaders, is well funded, and set up to provide charitable aid, health care and social welfare services—which will almost certainly increase his appeal in the angry, war-ravaged Shiite world. Then, of course, there’s the appeal of his message: “We don’t want occupiers in our country. After the war against Saddam is over, the war against America will begin!” Another US foe, the Shiite militant group Hezbollah, also has ambitious aims in Iraq. “Hezbollah in Lebanon or high-ranking Shiites in Iran may issue any number of



edicts, encouraging their followers to fight the army that has invaded their homeland, and their Fatwas would be perfectly binding,” says Columbia University analyst Dabashi.

The popular call to drive out the U.S. invaders has mobilized thousands of Iraqis and has opened the Pandora’s box of Muslim nationalism all over the Middle East, creating a booby-trapped boomerang that is slowly gathering speed and momentum. “We can use everything in war,” said one black-robed guardian at Kabala’s Al-Abbas Mosque. “Even this,” he said, holding a small shard of wood in his hand, “I can plunge into America’s heart. We want you to see the graves of Americans—they won’t have time to bury them.” The mosque guardian, who refused to give his name, continued to speak as he dusted off a collection of curved swords. “It represents that we are ready for fighting—it is the traditional Arab weapon. It belongs to the situation we are in.”

These are just some of the factors that are going to make it nearly impossible for the U.S. military to extricate itself from the Iraqi morass. With a general strategy of “bleeding” the U.S. until it withdraws, small guerrilla battalions are engaging in daily anti-American attacks, as graffiti has begun to appear in the slums of Baghdad’s Sadr City bearing messages like “Threaten the Americans with suicide bombings.” There is a general rule at work in insurgencies: if the guerrillas don’t lose, they win. And in this case, the Iraqi guerrillas *will* eventually win, because unlike the Americans, they will have nowhere else to go.

Sorry About Your Luck (Choice), Jarhead...

“So a military force has no constant formation, water has no constant shape: the ability to gain victory by changing and adapting according to the opponent is called genius.”

—Sun Tzu, *The Art of War*

In such a large-scale killing operation, speed and efficiency are essential to its success; just the right mix of deception, intimidation, punishment and lethal force are needed to minimize the chance of a panic or resistance that will disrupt the process. In pursuing such an ascent to global dominance, the New World Order needs ruthless, emotionally-deadened storm-troopers to quell the inevitable uprisings that will occur when they push for their “final solution.” This Praetorian Guard, who delight in wielding the machine gun and the SCUD missile, these *paid mercenaries*, long ago—upon completion of military training—sacrificed their humanity and individuality to become just a tiny part of a much larger organizational “intelligence,” and are now as machine-like as it is possible to imagine.

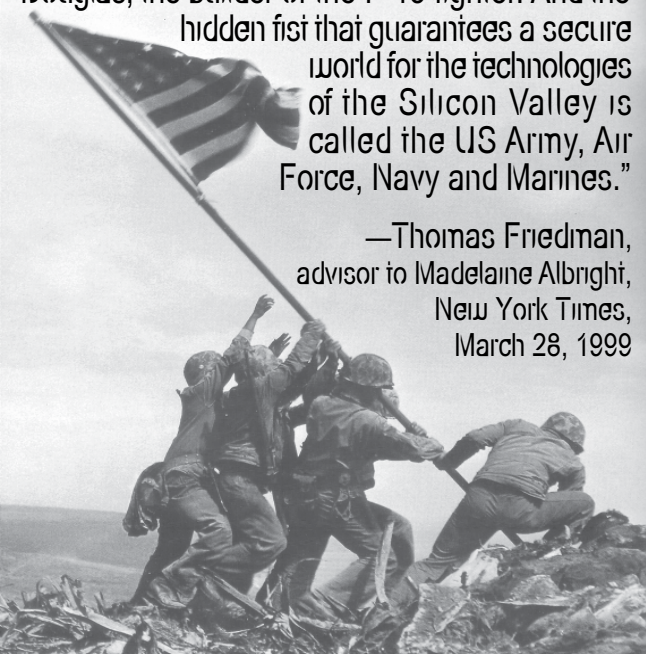
Among the many things that warfare does is temporarily define the entire enemy population as superfluous, as expendable—a redefinition that must take place before non-psychopaths can massacre innocent people and remain shielded from self-condemnation. Military training facilitates the naturalization of killing and a new level of detachment with regard to following orders; this, combined with the vilification of the Arab world, can be viewed as a deadly presentiment of what lies ahead. During the Gulf War in 1991, American pilots described killing Iraqi soldiers as a “turkey shoot” and called civilians who ran for cover “cockroaches” (just as General William C. Westmoreland referred to Vietnam as “Indian country” and described the Viet Cong as “termites”). This is how young recruits are conditioned to carry out the policies of racial and cultural cleansing and this is why the individual lives of these “hatchet men” are meaningless to us.

While it might be true that the SHIT-stem blackmails and coerces the poor of the world into working for it, it’s important to remember that *there is currently no active draft in this country* and that the willfully ignorant and complacent slaves that *choose* to be minions of the Empire deserve whatever fate they meet. While many “alternative” papers attempt to portray the U.S. troops as misdirected “proletarian victims”—rather than all-volunteer executioners in the employ of a Death Machine—we refuse to water down our feelings towards these hired bloodspillers/patriotic idiots and

we herald their departure from this world as we celebrate Custer’s defeat at Little Big Horn.

“For [corporate] globalization to work, America must not demur from acting like the omnipotent super-power that it is. The invisible hand of the market never functions without the hidden fist. McDonalds cannot prosper without McDonnell Douglas, the builder of the F-15 fighter. And the hidden fist that guarantees a secure world for the technologies of the Silicon Valley is called the US Army, Air Force, Navy and Marines.”

—Thomas Friedman, advisor to Madeline Albright, New York Times, March 28, 1999



There Are No Longer Any Excuses

“Be extremely subtle, even to the point of formlessness. Be extremely mysterious, even to the point of soundlessness. Thereby you can be the director of your opponent’s fate.”

—Sun Tzu, *The Art of War*

Originally, we had compiled an extensive list of the Iraqi resistance that has occurred since the official end of the major military assault “Operation Iraqi Freedom” last May. This list has grown too long to print, as successful assaults are occurring on a daily basis, and the U.S. death-count has now exceeded that of the original invasion. On average, one U.S. soldier is killed and three are wounded a day, and now British occupiers, who seemed to have been escaping much of the backlash, are also being targeted. The Iraqi resistance includes trained military people with sophisticated implements of war to average folks with home-made weapons, from those with overt political motivations to those just wanting an end to the US harassment and occupation. The daily attacks include: sniper fire, bomb blasts, rocket-propelled grenade hits, abductions, attacks on convoys using trip wires dangling from overpasses or grenades tossed from bridges, drive-by shootings of U.S. collaborators and Iraqi police designed to dissuade them from cooperating with the Americans, and sabotage attacks on Baghdad’s power grid and oil pipelines aimed at foiling “Coalition” efforts to establish a puppet government. Suspected insurgents also tried to shoot down a U.S. transport plane with a surface-to-air missile, and gunned down the mayor of an Iraqi city, Mohammed Nayil al-Jurayfi—who had actively cooperated with U.S. forces.

On the Arab satellite station Al-Jazeera, statements and videotapes are regularly aired from Iraqi resistance groups that claim responsibility for attacks. In one news broadcast, the Al-Jazeera announcer read from a statement by a previously unheard of group calling itself the Mujahdeen of the Victorious Sect; the group warned Iraqis to stay away from “places where the American forces are deployed” and promised more “painful attacks against the occupation forces in the near future.” Another resistance group, calling itself the Popular Resistance for the Liberation of Iraq, also released a statement calling on intellectuals, explosive experts and others to take “revenge” against America.

Some highlights of the Iraqi resistance include:

- On May 28, Iraqis burned down a police station in the town of Hit during a riot over intrusive weapons searches by Iraqi police and U.S. soldiers. When police and American troops began a house to house search for guns, uproar ensued in the Sunni Muslim town of 165,000 as angry residents surged into the streets, burning police cars and throwing stones and handmade grenades at the Americans.

- On August 1, in Baiji, saboteurs blew up part of a key oil pipeline in northern Iraq. Baiji is about 200 kilometres (125 miles) north of Baghdad and is a vital hub in the network of oil pipelines which criss-cross Iraq. It also falls within the northern tip of the so-called Sunni Muslim triangle, a wedge of north-central Iraq known for a high number of attacks on U.S. troops. Sabotage and looting have

plagued Iraq’s oil sector, with pipelines suffering crippling damage, while just 150 of 700 oil wells are in working order. The incident heightens concerns over Iraq’s capability to maintain security on its pipeline network. The coalition is banking on oil sales of \$3.4 billion this year, which would supply half the \$6 billion state budget it announced earlier in the month. The oil contracts, due to begin in August and last through the year, were signed with U.S. firms ExxonMobil, ChevronTexaco, ConocoPhillips, Marathon and Valero Energy, and also with European firms Shell, BP, Total, Repsol YPF.

- On August 17, saboteurs blew up a water main in northern Baghdad, forcing engineers to cut off water to the entire capital. The water main bombing came as two oil fires raged out of control along an oil pipeline to Turkey, halting exports just days before they started. Also on that day, a mortar attack on a Baghdad prison being used by the United States caused serious damage and the Iraqi National Islamic Resistance Movement made a videotaped appearance on the Al-Jazeera television network, saying that: “This resistance is not a reaction to the American provocations against the Iraqi people or to the shortage of services, as some analysts believe...but to kick out the occupiers as a matter of principle.” The statement was read by a masked man who sat with other masked individuals holding grenade launchers and Kalishnikov automatic rifles.

In late August, the United Nations headquarters in Iraq was heavily bombed as the U.S. government was beginning to ask the U.N. for help in the occupation. The United States seems to be caught between a rock and a hard place; they want total command of determining and rebuilding the political, economic, and social infrastructure of Iraq while maintaining strict control of its resources, but due to their miscalculations and the underestimated resistance, they need outside help. Yet, the UN remains reluctant. As U.S. troops and their families at home become more frustrated with the situation, we can count on dissent from within the ranks becoming another factor for the U.S. war machine to deal with.

“Free From the Noise of Lost Souls”

At this point in time, anarchists would do well to challenge some of their basic assumptions about

the war in Iraq. Our primary enemy in soberly assessing the situation there is ignorance and it must be rooted out of us and shown no mercy or quarter at all. We must reject the disinformation, lies, and propagandistic pabulum of the utterly controlled corporate media as we would poison, because that’s precisely what it is. If this was merely a “war for oil,” they wouldn’t be placing so much emphasis on it in the mass media. What’s more likely is that the “war for oil” focus is just a stratagem to trick would-be rebels into asking all the wrong questions and opening all the wrong doors.

There is a new power rising in the world, a new order of insensate destruction that sows despair and misery for reasons that go far beyond capitalism or “imperialism.” We are living in the “iron time” that Gestapo chief Heinrich Himmler spoke of to his SS troops, who were instructed to “sweep with iron brooms.” We are all prisoners of a system where huge infernal machines and devices are powered by our souls, where our stolen lives serve as currency and our distilled pain and agony is stored in special receptacles called bank accounts, credit ratings, computer files, prisons, concentration camps... a system that feeds on war, on blood. Radicals in this country need to consider the possibility that the maniacs in charge of this Death-Machine might want to see nuclear armageddon in the Middle East, in accordance with their own Judeo-Christian prophecies. Is it really a “coincidence” that things are building towards such a lethal climax in what many people consider the “birthplace of civilization”?

As the conflicts in Iraq, Afghanistan, Palestine, and around the world continue, it is important for anarchists to study and be familiar with the dynamics at work in these places, to be in support of the people who are daily battling empire in concrete ways, while also being critical of the nationalism, authoritarianism, and religious fundamentalism of those fighting. It is not appropriate for anarchists to side with new regimes or states in waiting just because they are embroiled in conflict with the U.S. government, Great Britain, or Israel. We should be clear that we lend our support to the spirit of liberation and the fighting of oppression within the people, not the political apparatus. We can be pleased with the killing of a U.S. soldier, but we should not necessarily and unconditionally align ourselves with their killers.



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JUNE, 1963



“Generally, I think it’s just gonna come down to us killing a shitload of cops.” —Malacypse the Younger

# UNCONTAINED RAGE

## Strategies Against Architecture, Storming the Gates of Leviathan, and Further Symptoms of the System’s Meltdown

### May 30, California: Man Goes Berserk With Construction Crane!

LOS ANGELES: A 43-year-old man seized control of a construction crane towering above downtown LA for more than eight hours, rotating the cab and throwing objects at rescue teams before finally surrendering. The crane is on the site of what is to be a new State Department of Transportation building.

### June 4, Oregon: Brothers Charged with Firebombing High School

SALEM: Two brothers were arrested and charged with arson in connection with the firebombing of North Salem High School the previous week, Salem police said. Magnum Tyrone Miller and Robert Duane Miller are accused of throwing two Molotov cocktails at the school. One of the bombs went through the window of a Junior ROTC classroom and caused minor damage.

### June 7, Alabama: Two Cops and a Dispatcher Killed

FAYETTE: A suspect being booked at a small town police station grabbed a cop’s gun and opened fire, killing two pigs and a police dispatcher before fleeing in a police car. The suspect, Devin Moore, was apprehended three hours later after he used the stolen police car to cross state lines into Mississippi.

### June 14, Oregon: Postal Inspectors Investigate Mailbox Explosion

EUGENE: A downtown mailbox was blown to bits, and the US Postal Service is very upset. No one was injured by the explosion. Shrapnel from the blast was found 144 feet away and investigators are still trying to determine what type of explosive device was used.



### June 18, Michigan: Massive Riots Against Police Brutality

BENTON HARBOR: The governor declared a state of emergency as hundreds of people rioted over the death of a motorcyclist during a police chase. The rioters set at least five buildings and five cars ablaze and pelted police with bricks and bottles in the impoverished city of 12,000, where allegations of police harassment have been a source of tension. In all, 10 to 15 people were hurt, none seriously. About 150 state troopers and 100 other pigs used tear gas and other “non-lethal” methods to quell the uprising by about 4 am. During the first night’s riots, the cops were outnumbered and unable to arrest any of the hundreds of residents involved. One of the burned buildings was a vacant two-story structure where Terrance Shurn, 28, of Benton Harbor lost control of his speeding motorcycle and crashed early morning on June 16. At least two people in a car fired shots at cops as the vehicle drove through a police barricade and the pigs returned fire. No one was hit. About 300 people joined in the second night of rioting. Cops surrounded a six-to-eight block area but held back until launching their counterattack. Police arrested at least seven people. The police chief said the rioters threatened to set fire to Benton Harbor police headquarters, the vehicles around it and

city hall. He said police stood guard to protect them.

Residents interviewed earlier by the press on June 17 said Benton Harbor’s problems were the result of years of police harassment. “We’re tired of it now. We’re tired of it,” said one resident, who said his 11-year-old cousin was struck on a sidewalk and killed in September 2000 during a pursuit involving police from nearby Benton Township, the same department that was pursuing Shurn. On June 17, the crowd kept firefighters at bay as the buildings burned.

### June 18: Prominent Structures Can’t Afford Insurance

Skyscrapers and stadiums in major US cities still don’t have insurance against “terrorism” because it has become too expensive in the aftermath of 9/11. Insurers have not lowered rates for high risk properties in spite of the government’s assurance that it will step in to help insurers pay claims for damages from “terrorism” (this is probably because the insurance industry understands that the American Empire is making more and more enemies on a daily basis). Obtaining “terrorism” risk coverage is difficult or expensive in most major US metropolitan areas, including New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Washington DC, and Houston. Some of the most highly visible properties – like stadiums, concert halls, skyscrapers and nuclear plants - are currently without coverage.

### June 31-July 1, Nigeria: Eight Die In Fuel Price Protests

LAGOS: Security forces shot dead four Nigerians and four others were killed by a speeding vehicle during street protests over fuel prices in the oil-producing country, on July 1. A police spokesman said the four were shot in a suburb of the inland capital Abuja, where police fired teargas and battled protesters on the day prior. The other four died in Lagos when a speeding vehicle crashed into a group of demonstrators. On August 31, riot police fired live rounds into the air and used teargas as a general strike paralyzed the world’s eighth biggest oil exporting nation, shutting ports, banks, shops and petrol stations. Unionists torched barricades. Nigerian trade unionists vowed to push the strike into a second day, triggering mounting concern over the West African state’s more than two million barrels a day of oil exports. The strike was sparked by President Olusegun Obasanjo’s decision to raise fuel prices by over 50 percent on June 20. (See related story on page 23.)

### July 6, Mexico: Gas Bombs Hurlled at U.S. Embassy

MEXICO CITY: A man tossed two gasoline-filled bottles over security barricades at the U.S. Embassy but caused little damage. One burned out on the concrete stairs leading up to the building, while the other apparently failed to ignite.

### July 7, Mexico: Proletarian Reprisals Against Politicians

At least 500 locals of the municipality of San Salvador El Seco burned two cars and crushed a pick-up truck against the entrance of the City Hall, during a protest where they demanded the firing of the mayor (a member of the PRI), Guadalupe Hernandez Contreras. They accuse the mayor of nepotism and misappropriation of public funds. The previous week, a similar situation took place in the Mexican municipality of Cuauhancingo, where locals – dissatisfied with *their* mayor – burned 16 municipal police cars and motorcycles.

### July 7, Dominican Republic: Locals Use Homemade Bombs in Protest Against Gas Hikes

LENARES: Popular groupings called for the realization of protests against the high cost of living, the high rates for electricity and the lack of drinkable water. In neighborhoods and streets of this community, homemade bombs exploded, tires were set ablaze and garbage was thrown in the streets.

### July 11, Florida: Cops Served Broken Glass in Burgers at McDonald’s

TAMPA: Two sheriff’s deputies were hospitalized after eating broken glass mixed in with the onions on their McDonald’s cheeseburgers. Pigs Stuart O’Shannon and Daniel Witt had stopped at the restaurant for their evening gorging. Both men were in uniform. *The Tampa Tribune* reported that O’Shannon choked and then spit up blood after taking a couple of bites from his cheeseburger. The two pigs then checked the burgers and found chunks of glass mixed in with the onions and cheese. O’Shannon, 32, was airlifted to a hospital, where he was diagnosed with internal injuries that were unfortunately not life-threatening. Witt, 24, who had already eaten a burger when O’Shannon began spitting up blood, was treated at the scene but later admitted to a hospital for a more thorough examination. Authorities closed the restaurant and detained 17 employees for questioning. No arrests were made and the investigation was continuing.

### August 5, California: Starbucks Haters Hit San Francisco Retail Shops

SAN FRANCISCO: In the 11 years since Starbucks opened its first outlet in San Francisco, its smiling green siren for some grew to symbolize dot-com excess, high rents, the homogenization of the planet and the tragedy of globalization. But, in the pre-dawn hours of August 5, someone struck back. Police say as many as 17 of the Seattle-based chain stores were vandalized – windows clouded with glue, “For Lease” signs pasted on their facades and some of their locks jammed. The pranksters also posted a notice on faux Starbucks letterhead regretfully announcing the closure of “thousands of retail locations worldwide”.

The “message from the Starbucks Corporation,” which company officials dismissed as fraudulent, turned Starbucks’ highly touted “social responsibility program” on its head, saying its lofty goals “to promote a sustainable social, ecological, and economic model for the production and trade of coffee” had failed. “The global economy requires a relentless substitution of quantity over quality and shareholder value over human values,” read the statement. The statement was signed with the name of the company’s actual senior vice-president of corporate social responsibility. “At our current market level, Starbucks cannot in good conscience guarantee all of our beans meet our rigorous quality standards as well as our commitment to social responsibility. We are moving over and making room for local coffee bars.” Starbucks could only confirm that seven stores had been vandalized, but San Francisco Police Department investigators had received reports that 17 locations, mostly near the city’s Union Square and its Financial District, had been vandalized. No suspects have been identified and police are not aware of any organization claiming responsibility. But police said they believe “a group” is responsible.

### August 6, Italy: Carlo Giuliani’s Cop Assassin is Crippled in “Suspicious” Car Crash

The paramilitary pig who murdered young anarchist Carlo Giuliani during the clashes at the G8 meeting in Genoa two years ago was hospitalized, suffering from severe multiple injuries, after a road accident which his lawyer described as “very suspicious.” Mario Placanica, 25, was acquitted of murder in May following a lengthy



Benton Harbor Pigs Get the Message.

investigation into the incident in Genoa in July 2001. The judge decided he had acted in “legitimate self-defense.” Placanica, a Carabinieri, was driving home from lunch with friends when his car left the road and hit a tree. He threw himself from the vehicle before impact, but suffered numerous fractures and three crushed vertebrae. Doctors at the hospital in Catanzaro, southern Italy, where he was being treated, said Placanica might be paralyzed for life. Placanica was in a police vehicle at the height of the Genoa riots when it was approached by Carlo Giuliani. Two shots were fired from inside and Giuliani fell dying to the ground. The subsequent investigation and trial were packed with twists and turns. Giuliani had been no more than a few meters away from the vehicle when he was hit. Yet ballistic experts reported that the bullet that killed him had ricocheted off plaster. Their conclusion was crucial to Placanica’s acquittal. The defendant, who suffered frequent bouts of depression, changed his version of events four times and in July 2002 told a television interviewer: “I’ve been used to cover up the responsibility of others.”

### August 6, Brazil: Protesters Attack Congress

A group of demonstrators taking part in a march against pension “reform” in Brazil attacked the National Congress building. Protesters, who had been on a march of about 40,000 civil servants, smashed windows with stones and were forced back by police. Brazilian media reported that at least four protesters and two policemen were injured. Earlier that day, the lower house of the Brazilian Congress gave its initial approval to the reform bill. If it passes the entire parliamentary procedure, the bill will raise the age of retirement, place ceilings on civil servants’ pensions and allow the pensions to be taxed - changes the government says are vital to prevent the whole pension system collapsing. But the protesters called President Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva a traitor to his working class background. The president, or Lula as he is known, came to power in January promising jobs and change for Brazil’s millions of poor and the reform law is expected to put his on collision course with strong traditional allies of his Workers’ Party. The protest was the largest gathering in the Brazilian capital since Lula’s 1 January inauguration.

### August 12, California: Former Presidential Candidate Gets Pied

SAN FRANCISCO: Ralph Nader was in San Francisco to endorse Peter Camejo, who’s one of six declared Greens running in the gubernatorial recall election. At the end of a news conference, a man ran into the room, shoved a pie in Nader’s face, and ran out. Nader threw some of the pie at the unidentified man as he took off - but the police didn’t catch him. Later, Camejo said he thought the Democrats might be behind the pie throwing.

### August 14: Blackout Temporarily Darkens the Northeast

NEW YORK CITY: Much to the frustration of the worker bees, automatons, and corporate fucks of the concrete jungle, and to the delight of those longing to be uncivilized, the power went out for more than 24 hours in most of New York City, its suburbs, across the Northeast, and all the way into Canada. It was history’s biggest power failure and





affected as many as 50 million people. Although the situation was not used to the extent one would hope, as in the 1977 New York City blackout, in which significant portions of the city were temporarily liberated by riots, looting, partying, and burning (see “New York, New York” in John Zerzan’s *Elements of Refusal*). There was, however, some minor property damage in the Lower East Side, and one should not underestimate the psychological effects, and the rupture in people’s feelings of security within the technological system. People were forced to directly experience one another, without the usual cell-phones, e-mails, automobiles, and elevators, which alienate and isolate each other in the city. Some were also forced to experience the heat and the air, normally filtered through air-conditioning in summer. For those who solely dwell in the artificial reality, it was surely a wake-up call, and a time of reflection (if they were able to get passed their self-absorbed anger and frustration), and for the poor, who don’t typically have the “luxuries” and “amenities” of city living, it was probably a nice break from the usual hustle and bustle. Oh yeah, and let us not forget the most important lesson from all of this: THE SYSTEM IS FRAGILE AND VULNERABLE and those who control it cannot always predict its problems and failings.

OTTAWA: Looting broke out after dark on as the major power outage pitched much of Ontario into darkness. Ontario declared a state of emergency after the power outage, which left much of Canada’s most populous province in the dark.

**August 14, Swazi:  
Protesters and Police Clash**

Protesters have clashed with pigs in the Swazi capital as 20 heads of state began gathering to attend an international conference on sustainable development. Office and shop windows were smashed after heavily armed paramilitary police and soldiers fired teargas canisters and rubber bullets to disperse about 2,000 demonstrators in central Mbabane. About 20 African heads of state met to discuss public and private partnership investment in development projects. The protestors appear to have timed their action to cause maximum embarrassment to the government.

**Mid August, Pennsylvania:  
Two Pigs Shot Serving Eviction Notice**

CHESTER COUNTY: An East Marlborough Township man shot two deputy sheriffs and held police at bay for more than three hours before surrendering. The deputy sheriffs arrived to deliver an eviction notice to Walter J. Rosengarth, 63, at his residence. Rosengarth told police that he would not leave until the police provided him with a \$16,000 check (the amount he owed in back taxes). When it became apparent that Rosengarth would not come out peacefully, the deputies called for backup. While more cops were en route, Rosengarth opened fire with one of three semiautomatic weapons, hitting Deputy Sgts. James J. Boyd and Joseph Smida. In addition to hitting the deputies, Rosengarth shot out a window of one of the deputies’ cars. Police said they recovered three weapons they believe were used in the shooting. They included an M-1 carbine, an AR-15, and a .45-caliber semiautomatic pistol. Police said multiple guns were fired, based on an analysis of bullet holes and shell casings found at his home.

**August 19-21, Dominican Republic:  
Unrest Over Living Conditions**

SANTO DOMINGO: Residents of the Brisas del Este neighborhood protested on August 19 to demand property titles for the homes where they have lived for years, as well as local road repairs, the high cost of living, electrical rate hikes, drinking water, schools and other neighborhood improvements. Protesters also were against a planned loan agreement with the International Monetary Fund (IMF). People reportedly threw rocks at police, who used rubber bullets and tear gas against the crowds. On August 20 the protests spread throughout the eastern sector of the Dominican capital, where residents blocked streets with burning tires. At least five passenger buses and two pickup trucks were burned during the protests. In El Tamarindo, protesters burned an office of the government’s Blackout Reduction Program (PRA) to the ground. As hooded youths burned tires on the Mella highway near El Tamarindo, an agent of the Metropolitan Transport Authority (AMET) opened fire, killing 23-year-old Carlos Eusebio Reyes. Reyes’ father and cousin both said Reyes was shot while standing with them in front of his home; he was not participating in the protests, they insisted. At least five other people were hurt in the protests, and at least 12 were arrested. It was the fifth time in as many months that police killed a civilian during protests; dozens more people have been injured.

**August 28, California:  
Bombs Damage Biotech Company**

EMERYVILLE: Two small bombs exploded and shattered windows on the campus of biotechnology company Chiron Corp.; nobody was hurt. Chiron and its executives have been targeted by animal-rights protesters recently over the company’s relationship with Huntington Life Sciences, which conduct animal experiments. A group calling itself “The Revolutionary Cells” claimed responsibility for the bombing in an anonymous email. They also warned that the company’s executives might be targeted at their homes.

**August 28, England:  
Lights Out in London!**

Power went out in many parts of London and southeast Britain for almost an hour, bringing most underground and regional trains to a stop, stranding hundreds of thousands of commuters, and causing chaos during the evening rush hour. Officials said the problems were caused by a failure on the national power grid.

**September 11, Poland:  
Coal Miners Attack Riot Police**

WARSAW: Polish coal miners have attacked riot police with sticks, burning boots and chunks of road stone as a protest against planned job cuts and pit closures turned into one of the country’s worst riots in years. Miners marching in central Warsaw on Thursday lit petrol-soaked work boots and clothes and hurled them at police in riot gear defending a government ministry. One officer’s uniform caught fire and at least three were injured, police said. Police fired into an unruly crowd of about 5,000 miners with tear gas, water cannon and rubber bullets, as trade union organizers lost control of what had been planned as a peaceful demonstration. “We are desperate and have nothing to lose.” said Piotr Wesoly, 44, who has worked a Silesian pit for 26 years.

**June 11, Washington:**

**Student Accused of Plotting Bomb Attacks**

**BELLINGHAM:** The FBI arrested a Western Washington University student on charges that he was planning to bomb a Coast Guard station and an Army National Guard facility in Bellingham. Paul Revak, a 20-year-old history major who has no criminal history, faces up to life in federal prison if found guilty of threats to use a weapon of mass destruction. A search of Revak’s dormitory room did not turn up any explosives. The native of Snohomish was also charged with “solicitation to commit a crime of violence” for allegedly seeking the help of another student in his plan to bomb the Coast Guard base, according to FBI agent James Powers. Revak, a self-proclaimed anarchist, told the student that the bombing would “make a statement” and “have an impact” on starting a revolution against the U.S. government, according to Powers. According to the other student, Revak revealed a diagram of the Coast Guard station and also drove to the station to point out where he would cut the fence and enter with a bomb. He presented the student with a copy of a grandiose manifesto. After a preamble that criticizes the U.S. government, the document lays out the option of “*unrest, protest, and if need be, revolution. You need not worry about Osama or Saddam or the boogeyman, but if you are part of this empire, you should fear us. Our will is strong, our message is just, and we will prevail.*” The apprehensive student sought to dissuade Revak, and “when it became apparent that Revak was not going to be talked out of his plan,” the student began ratting to the FBI.

On June 5, Revak and the snitch met with an undercover agent at the student’s apartment, where the FBI secretly made audio and video recordings. Supposedly, Revak asked that the special agent help him obtain a powerful military explosive called C-4 and hand grenades. Revak allegedly told the agent that he had recently driven by an oil refinery at Cherry Point near Bellingham and had found it to be “so friggin’ tempting.” Revak was said to ask the agent whether he had heard of the abolitionist John Brown, whose raid on an Army arsenal in Harper’s Ferry, Va., in 1859 was a step on the road to the Civil War. He then allegedly raised the specter of a possible assault on the Naval Air Station on Whidbey Island with “all those EP-3s sitting there on the tarmac. I would be like a kid in a candy store.” On June 9, when agents tailing Revak spotted him emerging from a store with a pellet gun that is a replica of a semiautomatic pistol, they arrested him.

**August 11, California:**

**Ted Kaczynski Seeks Return of Papers, Bomb**

**SACRAMENTO:** Convicted “Unabomber” Ted Kaczynski has asked the U.S. government to return his personal papers and other materials, including a bomb confiscated by the FBI seven years ago. In papers filed at federal court in Sacramento, Kaczynski asked that the government ship the materials to a University of Michigan archive that already contains more than 15,000 of his papers. Those items include a pipe bomb and tons of documents including his voluminous autobiography, according to R. Steven Lapham, one of the federal prosecutors who tried the case. Also on the list: Kaczynski’s tools, a can of matches, a pair of tweezers and a hatchet, which were confiscated when he was arrested at his Montana cabin. Kaczynski is serving life without the possibility of parole at a maximum security prison in Colorado. Lapham would not discuss whether Kaczynski is entitled to the material, but legal experts said the government would probably be allowed to keep them. Though courts have turned down his appeals, if he does succeed in getting a new trial, prosecutors would be forced to start the case all over. Kaczynski concedes the issue is complex, and legal rulings are inconsistent. But he said the government should release the material for the sake of posterity. According to the government, between 1978 and 1995 the “Unabomber” killed three men with bombs and injured 23 other people in 16 politically-motivated bombing incidents. In September 1995, the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times* published his 35,000-word manifesto, *Industrial Society & Its Future* (available from the Green Anarchy Distro), in return for a pledge of no further bombing attacks against persons.





# The Iron Fist of Control: State Repression News

## July 1-4, Brazil: More Violence Against Landless Peasants

On July 3, some 400 state military police agents evicted 1,500 landless rural workers from three camps in Tracunhaém, in the northeastern Brazilian state of Pernambuco. Carrying out a local judge's order, police provided support as the estate owner used mechanical diggers and tractors to destroy the squatters' makeshift homes, along with a school and two churches. The raid came a day after President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva met with 29 representatives of the Movement of Landless Rural Workers (MST), which organizes peasants to take over unproductive land in order to press the government redistribute it. At the July 2 meeting, Lula promised to settle 60,000 landless families by the end of the year, with priority given to those living in encampments, and agreed to improve conditions in the encampments and develop a map of nonproductive lands for agrarian reform. A day earlier, July 1, a group of about 100 landless rural workers set up a blockade along the road between the cities of Recife and Goiana in Pernambuco state and looted food from trucks to feed their families in nearby encampments. As the MST pressures Lula to speed up agrarian reform, large landholders are increasingly using violence and threats to halt such reform. Humberto Sa, who owns a 1,235-acre spread in fertile Paraná state, said several ranchers are forming militias which he hopes to unite in a nationwide movement called "The Breadbasket of Brazil." On the night of July 3, a group of hooded, heavily armed men attacked some 70 landless families who were camped at the side of a road near the Paranavai estate in Uniflor municipality, Paraná. The gunmen fired their weapons at the encampment; MST member Emilio Ferreira was wounded by three bullets.



## July 31, Argentina: Attacks and Threats Against Anarchist Groups

**LA PLATA:** Near midnight unknown persons threw a mototov cocktail against the house of the parents of Federica Martelli, secretary general of the anarchist organization Rebel (Auca) and a member of the United Popular Movement (one of the most militant Argentine social movements) in the city of La Plata, Argentina. The bomb exploded against one of the windows, without causing much damage. A few days later, threatening calls were made to relatives of Martelli, saying "we are going to give it to her," making reference to the MUP, and making other threats. It is hard to determine the origins of the attack and threats because so many officials and public representatives have been energetically opposed to Federica, the MUP and Auca. During her militant career, Martelli has been active in student politics, being the regional coordinator of the anarchist student group Black Water (Aguanegra) and a member of the executive desk of the FULP (University Confederacy of La Plata) who had a hard clash with the authorities of the University to the point of being physically attacked and threatened with jail time.

## August 4, California: Sherman Austin Sentenced to One Year

Sherman Austin, webmaster of RaisetheFist.com, was sentenced to one year in federal prison, with three years of probation. Judge Wilson shocked the courtroom when he went against the recommendation of not only the prosecution, but the FBI and the Justice Department, who had asked that Austin be sentenced to 4 months in prison, and 4 months in a half-way house, with 3 years of probation.

Austin's probation stipulates, among other things, that (1) he cannot possess or access a computer of any kind without prior approval of his probation officer, (2) if his probation officer gives permission, the equipment is subject to monitoring and is subject to search and seizure at any time, without notice, (3) he cannot alter

any of the software or hardware on any computer he uses, (4) he must surrender his phone, DSL, electric, and satellite bills, (5) he cannot associate with any person or group that seeks to change the government in any way (be that environmental, social justice, political, economic, etc.), and (6) he must pay over \$2,000 in fines and restitution. Austin must surrender himself to the Federal Bureau of Prisons by September 3, 2003.

From Sherman Austin:

*"On Jan 24, 2002, my home was surrounded and raided by approximately 25 heavily armed FBI, and Secret Service agents in one of the governments first attempts to exercise the new US Patriot Act. I was interrogated for several hours while they ransacked my room and they seized a network of computers, which I used to run my web site raisethefist.com. They also seized protest signs and political literature. Their excuse was a protest guide (which I didn't author) that was posted to my site, which a small portion contained information on explosives. The FBI had been monitoring the site long before this was ever posted, and long before Sept 11. The "explosives information" on my site (again which I didn't author) doesn't compare to what you can find on any other web sites such as howthingswork.com, Loompanics.com, Bombshock.com, Totse.com, Amazon.com, or the many neo nazi web sites which cover everything from assassinations, explosives, fraud and firearms. It's obvious a web surfer interested in making a bomb or taking part in other extra-illegal activities would not have to rely on Raisethefist.com. So how could the "bomb making information" on raisethefist.com be a concern to authorities? It wasn't a concern, it was simply used as an excuse to exercise the new Patriot Act and take down the site. And that's what they did when federal agents spent 5-6 hours interrogating me while they disassembled each computer one by one, mirrored each hard drive, then loaded everything into a big white truck. During this whole process I was told I wasn't going to be arrested, and that I could even leave if I wanted to. Once the agents finished packing everything up, Special Agent John I. Pi, who was conducting the investigation and raid said that I had crossed a line, and as long as I got back on the other side of that line I'd be okay.*

*A week later despite what happened I still continued with my plans to attend the demonstration against the World Economic Forum in NY. As I was waiting for the march to begin, a swarm of NYPD officers rushed straight at me and scooped up about 26 people, one of which was me. We sat on a bus for 7 hours before being taken to Brooklyn Navy Yard Jail. I was there for about 30 hours before I was taken out of my cell and put into a backroom in handcuffs and interrogated once again by the FBI and Secret Service for several hours. They asked me questions such as if I was a terrorist or involved in any terrorist organizations. During the interrogation I noticed more and more agents walking through the room. I was told I wouldn't leave custody unless they searched my car. I said I had nothing to hide and simply wanted to go home. Stressed and aggravated, I signed over my keys. A few minutes later I was driven to the court and released. As I was waiting for someone to pick me up, about 5 FBI agents entered the court and said I was arrested for "distribution of information related to explosives over the internet." One of the agents grabbed my neck and told me to shut the fuck up while I tried to tell one of the legal observers I was being arrested. I was hurried out of the court house into a black SUV where I was driven to a federal building. I was then taken to lower Manhattan MCC maximum security 24 hour lockdown federal jail facility. At my bail hearing the FBI called me a "man on a mission" and said I drove 3,000 miles to carry out my alleged "plot". The judge said I was a "threat to the community" and denied me bail, and I was to be extradited back to California to face my charges. After 11 days I was shackled and taken to an airforce base where federal inmates are boarded onto planes surrounded by guards with M16's and shotguns, like prisoners of war, and flown to a federal jail "hub" in Oklahoma. Once I got there, I learned the next day that the prosecutors decided not to file an indictment. I was released after spending 13 days in custody. When I got back to Los Angeles I put raisethefist.com back up almost immediately. I continued my political organizing within the community, as well as my work with Raise the Fist, which developed into a Direct Action Network with chapters setup around the world. Six months later prosecutors contacted my lawyer and said they found nothing to prosecute me for on my computers, but didn't want to "let me off the hook." They offered me a pre-indictment binding plea agreement, which was initially 1 month in jail, and 5 months in a "community corrections facility." I rejected the plea at first, wanting to go to trial until we discovered the case was eligible for a terrorism enhancement, which could have added 20 years to my sentence.*

*continued on facing page...*

# North American Political Prisoners

The following are being held by the state for politically-motivated activities.

## Anarchist & Anti-Authoritarian:

**Bill Dunne** #10916-086, Box 019001, Atwater, CA 95301. Anti-authoritarian activist sentenced to 90 years for the attempted liberation of a prisoner in 1979.

**Larry Giddings** #10917-086, Box 1000, Lewisburg, PA 17837. Anti-authoritarian prisoner serving 75+ years for revolutionary action.

**Matthew Lamont** T90251, A-5-248 UP, Centinella State Prison, PO Box 901, Imperial, CA. 92251 Serving time for allegedly planning to attack a white supremacist gathering.

**Ojore N. Lutalo** #59860, PO 861, SBI #0000901548, Trenton, NJ 08625. Anarchist and black liberation soldier serving time for revolutionary clandestine activities.

**Mike Rusniak** DOC K88887, Dixon CC, 2600 Brinton, PO Box 1200, Dixon, IL 61021. Serving time for stealing a police car, and other acts of anti-government property-destruction.

**Robert Thaxton** #12112716, (aka Rob Los Ricos) OSP, 2605 State Street, Salem, OR 97310. Longtime anarchist activist sentenced to seven years in prison for throwing a rock at a cop in self-defense at a June 18, 1999 Reclaim the Streets protest in Eugene.

**Harold Thompson** #93992, Northwest Correctional Complex, Route 1, Box 660, Tiptonville, TN 38079. Serving multiple life sentences for clandestine resistance.

**Thomas Tripp** #12032560, TRCI, 82911 Beach Access Rd., Umatilla, OR 97882. Serving additional time for his participation in a jailhouse riot aimed at winning concessions from the authorities, such as religious rights for Native Americans, and educational programs.

**Rodney Wade** #38058, S.I.C.I., ND-BL-24, P.O. Box 8509, Boise, ID, 83707. Ecological activist serving time for self-defense against a racist attack.

## Eco-Defense & Animal Liberation:

**Ted Kaczynski** #04475-046, US Pen-Admin Max Facility, PO Box 8500, Florence Colorado 81226. Sentenced to multiple lifetimes in prison for the "Unabomber" bombing attacks against the architects of the New World Order.

**Jeffrey Luers (Free)** #13797671, OSP, 2605 State Street, Salem, OR 97310. Serving a 22+ year sentence for setting fire to Sports Utility Vehicles to protest the destruction of the environment. He has been made an example of by the criminal injustice system and he urgently needs your support.

**Craig Marshall (Crittter)** #13797662, SRCI, 777 Stanton Blvd, Ontario, OR 97914. Serving a five-year sentence for setting fire to SUVs to protest the destruction of the environment.

**Benjamin Persky** #1410212600, George Verno Center, 0909 Hazen St., East Elmhurst, NY 11370. Sentenced to multiple years for property destruction at multiple anti-HLS demonstrations.

**Peter Schnell** #99476-111, FCI Otisville, PO Box 1000, Otisville, NY 10963. Animal liberation activist serving two years for being in possession of incendiary devices.

**Fran Thompson** #1090915, HU3A, Chillicothe Correctional Center, 1500 W.3rd St, Chillicothe, MO 64601. Longtime eco-activist serving a Life sentence for shooting dead, in self-defense, a stalker who had broken into her home.

**Helen Woodson** #03231-045 FMC Carswell, PO Box 27137, Admin Max Unit, Fort Worth, TX 76127. Serving 27 years for robbing a bank and then setting the money on fire while reading out a statement denouncing greed, capitalism and the destruction of the environment.

## Anti Imperialist & Anti-Capitalist:

**Haydee Beltran** #88462-024, SCI Tallahassee, 501 Capital Circle, Tallahassee, FL 32031. Puerto Rican political prisoner of the struggle against US imperialism.

**Marilyn Buck** #00482-285, Unit B, 5701 8th Street, Camp Parks, Dublin, CA 94568. Serving 50 years to life for actions taken after she escaped prison herself including an armed robbery of a Brink's armored truck and the liberation of Assata Shakur from prison.

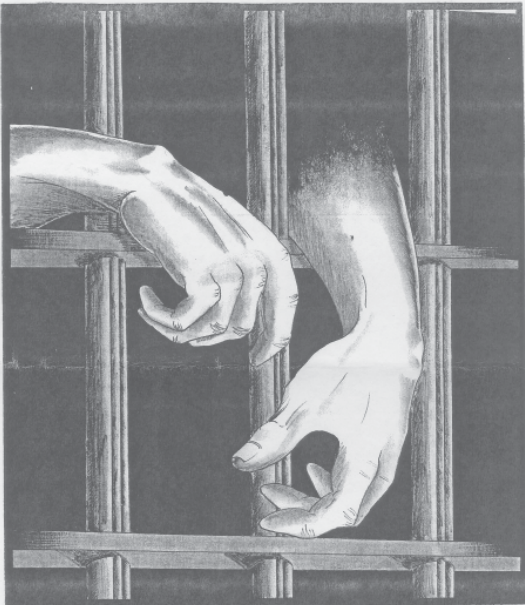
**David Gilbert** #83A6158, Box 51, Attica C.F., Attica NY 14011-0149. Serving time for clandestine actions against imperialism and capitalism.

**William Gilday** PO Box 1218, MCI Shirley, Shirley, MA 01464-1218. Jailed for the shooting of a cop during a 1970 bank expropriation intended to fund the movement against the Vietnam War.

**Alvaro Luna Hernandez** #255735, Hughes Unit, Rt. 2, Box 4400, Gatesville, TX 76597. Chicano-Mexican freedom-fighter serving time for a frame-up to stop his effective organizing in the Barrios.

**Yu Kikumura** #090008-050, PO Box 8500 ADX, Florence, CO 81226. Alleged member of the Japanese Red Army.

**Antonio Camacho Negron** #03587-069, Philadelphia FDC, 700 Arch St, Philadelphia, PA 19105. Longtime Puerto Rican activist recently re-imprisoned for refusing to accept the conditions of his parole after years of imprisonment for fighting US imperialism.



**Sara Olson** W94197, 506-27-1 Low, CCWF, PO Box 1508, Chowchilla, CA 93610-1508. Serving 20+ years for clandestine actions related to the (now long defunct) Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA).

**Oscar Lopez Rivera** #87651-025, Box 33, Terre Haute, IN 47808. Puerto Rican activist arrested in 1981 and sentenced to 55 years for seditious conspiracy. In 1988 he was given an additional 15 years for conspiracy to escape.

**Carlos Alberto Torres** #88976-024, Box 1000, Oxford, WI 53952 FCI Oxford. Longtime Puerto Rican activist imprisoned for sedition.

## Native American & Land Rights:

**Byron Shane Chubbuck** #07909051, US Penitentiary, PO Box 1000, Leavenworth, KS 66048. Indigenous rights activist serving time for robbing banks in order to acquire funds to support the Zapatista rebellion in Chiapas, Mexico.

**Eddie Hatcher** #0173499, ECI, PO Box 215, Maury, NC 28550. Longtime Native American freedom-fighter being framed for a murder he did not commit.

**Leonard Peltier** #89637-132, PO Box 1000, Leavenworth, KS 66048. American Indian Movement (AIM) activist, serving two Life sentences, having been framed for the murder of two FBI agents.

**Andy J. Riendeau (John Two Names)** #193786, Dorm C-2-168, Elmore Correctional Facility, PO Box 8, Elmore, AL 36025.

**Tewahnee Sahme** #11186353, TRCI, 82911 Beach Access Rd., Umatilla, OR 97882. Dedicated Native rights advocate serving additional time for a prison insurgency.

**David Scalera (Looks Away)** #13405480, TRCI, 82911 Beach Access Rd., Umatilla, OR 97882. Dedicated Native rights advocate serving additional time for a prison insurgency.

**Eric Wildcat Hall** #BL-5355, Unit 1/A 10745 Route 18, Albion, PA 16475-0002. Serving 35-75 years for helping ship arms to Central American indigenous activists.

## Black Liberation:

*Most of the following prisoners are serving time for "crimes" in the name of black liberation. Many of them are former members of either the Black Liberation Army (BLA), or the Black Panther Party (BPP), or both. They are either in prison for their clandestine actions against the state and reactionary or repressive forces, or because they have been framed by the authorities.*

**Aziz Abdul** #255934, Box 759, Wallens Ridge Super-max, Big Stone Gap, VA 24219. Imprisoned for actions carried out against US colonialism in the Virgin Islands.



**Sundiata Acoli** #39794-066, PO Box 3000, USP Allenwood, White Deer, PA 17887, USP Allenwood. BLA POW.

**Jamil Abdullah Al-Amin** #EF492521, Georgia State Prison, 100 Georgia Hwy 147 - Reidsville, GA 30499-9701. Former Black Panther and community activist being framed for the murder of a cop. Jamil is formerly known as H. Rap Brown. **Zolo Agona Azania** #4969, Indiana State Prison, PO Box 41, Michigan City, IN 46361-0041. Community activist being framed for murdering a cop.

**Herman Bell** #79C0262, Box 2001, Clinton Correctional Facility, Dannamora, NY 12929. Former Black-Panther who is accused of participating in illegal underground activities. He has been in jail for 22 years, which makes him one of the oldest political prisoners in the U.S.

**Hanif Shabazz Bey (Beaumont Gereau)** #295933, Wallens Ridge State Prison, PO Box 759, Big Stone Gap, VA 24219. Imprisoned for actions carried out against US colonialism in the Virgin Islands.

**Joseph Bowen** AM-4272, 1 Kelley Drive, Coal Township, PA 17866-1021. Former BLA combatant. **Marshall Edward Conway** #116469, Box 534, Jessup, MD 20794. Maintains his innocence of a police murder in 1970. He asserts that he is one of many political prisoners in the USA as a result of FBI's war against the BPP.

**Bashir Hameed (J. York)** #82A6313, Box AG, Fallsburg, NY 12733. Former BPP & BLA member serving time for his involvement in actions resulting in the death of a cop.

**Robert Seth Hayes** #74-A-2280, Clinton Correctional Facility, PO Box 2000 Dannemora, NY 12929. Captured and convicted in 1973 under a host of charges, attributed to membership in the BLA.

**Sekou Kambui (William Turk)** #113058, Box 56 SCC (B1-21), Elmore, AL 36025-0056. Former BPP & BLA member being framed for the murders of a Klan member and a wealthy merchant.

**Mumia Abu-Jamal** AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 East R. Furman Highway, Waynesburg, PA 15370-8090. Framed for the murder of a pig. He was recently taken off death row and is waiting for re-sentencing.

**Veronza Bowers Jr.** #35316-136, Box 819, Coleman, FL 33521-0819, FCI Coleman (Med). Former BPP member falsely accused of killing a cop.

**Mondo We Langa (David Rice)** #27768, Box 2500, Lincoln, NE, 68542-2500. Former BPP member falsely accused of killing a cop.

**Abdul Majid (Anthony Laborde)** #83A0483, Drawer B, Green Haven Correctional Facility, Stormville, NY 12582-0010. Former BPP member serving time for a crime he did not commit. Another victim of the COINTELPRO wars against the BPP.

**Ruchell Cinque McGee** A-92051, PO Box 7500, SHU-2-C-233, Crescent City, CA 95531. Serving time for a courthouse action to free incarcerated black liberationists.

**Jalil Muntaqim (Anthony Bottom)** #77A4283, Box 618, 135 State St., Auburn Correctional Facility, Auburn, NY 13024. Former Black Panther who is accused of participating in illegal underground activities. He has been in jail for 22 years, which makes him one of the oldest political prisoners in the U.S.

**Sekou Odinga** #05228-054, Box 1000, Marion, IL 62959. Former BLA sentenced to 25-to-Life for shooting a cop in self-defense, and also an additional 20 years for the liberation of comrade Assata Shakur and the expropriation of an armored truck.

**Ed Poindexter** #110403, 7525 4th Ave, Lino Lake, MN 55014-1099, Minnesota. Correctional Facility. Former BPP member falsely accused of killing a cop.

**Kojo Bomani Sababu (Grailing Brown)** #39384-066, 3906 Klein Blvd, Lompoc, CA 93436. Co-defendant of Ojore Lutalo. Serving time for revolutionary clandestine activities. **Mutulu Shakur** #83205-012, Box PMB, Atlanta, GA 30315. Sentenced to 60 years imprisonment for an alleged conspiracy by the BLA & the New Afrikan Freedom Fighters against the U.S. government.

**Russel Maroon Shoats** AF-3855, 175 Progress Dr., Waynesburg, PA 15370. BLA POW.

**Malik Smith** #295935, Box 759, Wallens Ridge Super-max, Big Stone Gap, VA 24219. Imprisoned for actions carried out against US colonialism in the Virgin Islands.

**Herman Wallace** #76759, CCR Upper C Cell 1, Louisiana State Penitentiary, Angola, LA 70712. Former BPP member and one of the infamous "Angola Three".

**Gary Watson** #098990, Unit SHU17, Delaware Correctional Center, 1181 Paddock Rd., Smyrna, DE 19977. The one & only remaining member of the "Smyrna Five" (S-5), a group of radical Blacks that attacked the prison authority following the murder of George Jackson.

**Albert Woodfox** #72148, CCR Upper B Cell 13, Louisiana State Penitentiary, Angola, LA 70712. Former BPP member and one of the infamous "Angola Three".

## MOVE Prisoners:

*MOVE is a radical, ecological movement that has been attacked by the Philadelphia Police since its inception. Nine members were convicted and sent to prison for life following a 1978 siege at their house in which one cop was killed by another cop. One of those nine, Merle Africa, died in prison after not being treated for a health issue.*

**Debbie Simms Africa** #006307, **Janet Holloway Africa** #006308, **Janine Philips Africa** #006309, 451 Fullerton Ave, Cambridge Springs, PA 16403-1238.

**Michael Davis Africa** AM4973, **Charles Simms Africa** AM4975, Box 244, Grateford, PA 19426-0244 SCI Grateford.

**Edward Goodman Africa** AM4974, Box 200, Camp Hill, PA 17011-0200 SCI Camp Hill.

**William Philips Africa** AM4984, **Delbert Orr Africa** AM4985, Drawer K, Dallas, PA 18612 SCI Dallas.

## United Freedom Front (UFF):

*The following three individuals are serving huge sentences for their role in actions carried out by the (UFF) in the 1980's. The UFF carried out solidarity bombings against the US government on a variety of issues. All of these individuals are excellent people to write to and will answer letters.*

**Jaan Karl Laaman** W41514, Box 100, South Walpole, MA 0207.

**Ray Luc Levasseur** #10376-016, Box PMB, Atlanta, GA 30315.

**Thomas Manning** #10372-016, Box 4000, Springfield, MO 65801.

**Richard Williams** #10377-016, 3901 Klein Blvd., Lompoc, CA 93436.

## Fight Back Prisoners:

*The struggle for the freedom of women who killed their abusive partners is an integral part of our class struggle against prisons. Sometime ago we heard about a woman in California who cut off the penis of a man, just released from prison for having raped and killed this woman's friend. We can't help but wonder if she was not emboldened by the relative prominence of support campaigns for domestic abuse prisoners in that state. A single act like this gives us great hope in the possibility of circulation of struggle that can come out of an attack on the prison system. The following are featured "Fight Back" Prisoners for this issue. Please contact them for more information.*

**Eileen Row**, W-76534, D516-6-2up, CCWF, PO Box 1508, Chowchilla, CA 93610-1508  
**Flozelle Woodmore**, W-26904, CCWF, PO Box 1508, Chowchilla, CA 93610  
**Frankie Williams**, W-16357, B1-19-2L, VSPW, PO Box 92, Chowchilla, CA 93610



## More information on Political Prisoners & POWs can be obtained from the following websites:

**Break The Chains Prisoner Support Group**  
<http://www.breakthechains.net>

**Anarchist Black Cross Network**  
<http://www.anarchistblackcross.org>

**Anarchist Black Cross Federation**  
<http://www.abcf.net>

**Eddie Hatcher**  
**Native American Political Prisoner**  
<http://www.eddiehatcher.org>

**Howl For Freedom - Free Defense Network**  
<http://www.freefreenow.org>

**International Leonard Peltier Defense Committee**  
<http://www.freepeltier.org>

**Jericho Movement**  
<http://www.thejerichomovement.com>

**Prison Activist Resource Center**  
<http://www.prisonactivist.org>

**Robert Thaxton - Political Prisoner**  
<http://www.defenestrator.org/roblosricos>

**Spirit Of Freedom: Earth Liberation Prisoners Support Network**  
<http://www.spiritoffreedom.org.uk>

## MORE STATE REPRESSION NEWS...

### ...continued from previous page

I therefore decided to enter a plea. I played months of legal limbo until I finally expected to get sentenced to 4 months in jail and 4 months in a community corrections facility based on the final pre-sentencing report written by the USPO. The judge rejected the 4 months saying what kind of an example would it set for "future revolutionaries" wanting to act in the same manner. He stated he wanted to give me at least 8-10 months but first wanted the opinion of the Justice Department and the Director of the FBI in Washington, DC (Robert Muller). My sentencing was rescheduled several times until August 4<sup>th</sup>. I was convicted of a felony; distribution of information related to explosives with intent, and sentenced to 1 year in federal prison with 3 years supervised release.

Distribution of information related to explosives is not illegal. What's illegal is the INTENT part. They have to prove you have intent to use the information to cause further crime of violence... and how do they prove intent? I think Bush made it clear when he said "you're either with me or against me."

Remember, fascism and a police state doesn't come all at once, it comes piece by piece. How far will we allow it go until we are all locked up in concentration camps?

If we don't take matters into our own hands and do something about this now, then we are already prisoners of war. Raisethest.com is not shutting down, and the RTF Direct Action Network will continue to grow and remain active. A 1 year sentence is not the end of this. It's just the beginning."

### August 14, California: Feds Attack Compassion for Farm Animals

The office of Compassion for Farm Animals and the home of two of its members were raided by the FBI. The investigation relates to the act of eco-sabotage in La Jolla claimed by the Earth Liberation Front. Obviously desperate and clueless, the FBI raided the animal liberationist's home for their stated beliefs of putting the lives of animals above corporate gain. The FBI took computers, documents, phone lists, a video camera and several other items from their home.

### August 15, Missouri: Anarchist Prisoner Placed in Isolation

Jerome White-Bey, anarchist prisoner and founder and president of the Missouri Prisoner's Labour Union (MPLU), has been put in the hole again. There was no specific reason given, but it seems he's under some sort of investigation. The MPLU has been growing steadily, it has more than 1000 members at this moment and other unions are set up in other prisons outside of the state Missouri. The efforts to unionize prisoners have brought constant harassment to Jerome and all MPLU organizers. As Jerome writes, "there are a hundred rules in order to cut us off from the outside world and to kill any human relations". People should send letters of support to: **Jerome White-Bey #37479 (1A-206), South Central Correctional Center, 255 West Highway 32, Licking, MO 65542-9069.**

### August 20, New York: Former Weather Underground Member Paroled

**ALBANY:** Kathy Boudin, the '60s radical who has served 22 years in prison for a 1981 armored car heist in which three were killed, was finally granted parole. The heist was intended to raise funds for black community organizations. Boudin, 60, a one-time member of the Weather Underground, had been denied parole just three months ago. In prison, Boudin developed a program on parenting behind bars and helped write a handbook for inmates whose children are in foster care. She also earned a master's degree in adult education and worked to help inmates with AIDS. Her possible release had been staunchly opposed by the families, friends and colleagues of the three men who were killed—Sgt. Edward O'Grady and Officer Waverly Brown of the Nyack police and Peter Paige, a Brink's guard. Boudin, the daughter of civil rights attorney Leonard Boudin, was recruited for the Brink's robbery by Black Liberation Army members and other radicals who apparently wanted to have white people driving the getaway vehicle to throw off pursuers. In the robbery at the Nanuet Mall, \$1.6 million was stolen and the security guard was killed. The cops were gunned down when the getaway truck, with Boudin in the passenger seat, was stopped at a roadblock and the gang burst from the back of the vehicle with automatic weapons firing. Boudin was apprehended as she fled, pleaded guilty to felony murder and robbery and was sentenced to 20 years to life.

**Solidarity is the Crime that We Never Tire in Committing** (International calling for solidarity with the anarchists imprisoned in Thessalonika, Greece and Valencia, Spain):

*We are aware of the general repressive situation, and of the concrete silence in which the State and Capital are trying to bury these anarchists, of the predictable mass media lynching the other two comrades arrested in Valencia are suffering, and the overall difficult situation they are facing. We are aware of the Sword of Damocles that the State and Capital hold over everyone that, defying the Power, dares to show his/her solidarity with those facing the State's reprisal. And we are also aware of the enthusiasm that the Democratic Inquisition puts in eradicating every single glimpse of dissidence at all costs.*

*However, despite everything, we call every individual endowed with sensibility to enforce the solidarity because the anarchists imprisoned in Thessalonika will face a new trial in the middle of September, and they have communicated their intention of going on hunger strike if it doesn't ends favourably. A hunger strike is nonsense as a pressure method if there is no conflict or agitation outside the walls. We aren't proposing an international fighting day, mainly because it would be something very foreseeable and easily suppressible; instead, we encourage to concentrate the solidarity in dates around the trial (before and after it) but each one in their social reality, in their own cities or villages... and by the means they think best, avoiding in any case falling into assumable (by the Establishment) dynamics. And, of course, without forgetting the two imprisoned in Valencia (Amanda and Edu) or making any distinction between "good" or "bad" anarchists—only intelligible from an inquisitorial mind, the same as which is imprisoning and torturing our companions.*

*From this spot on the planet we invite you to carry on in committing the serious crime of solidarizing with those facing reprisal, making Social War inevitable. Our companions have been kidnapped and we want them in the street now! All prisons must be demolished!*

*Full solidarity with the anarchists imprisoned in Greece and Spain!*

*A Terrorist is one who tortures and arrests.*

*The State is Terrorist.*

**Fernando's friends, companions and accomplices. DesdeDentro (Spain) Guerra Social (Italy) Sobre la situacion de Amanda y Eduardo**



### August 28: FBI Agents Raid Home Looking for Video Tape

Six FBI agents raided the home of Kat Dougherty. They were searching for a video-tape of Rod Coronado's speech at The Center in Hillcrest. They had a warrant. They entered the home at 7:00 am, after beating loudly on the door for several minutes. Upon entering, they asked who

was home and went upstairs to get the occupants of the home out of bed. They told Michael Cardenas to go into the kitchen and made him sit down. He was told he could not make any phone calls. He was also told that he could not get up to go in the room with Kat.

According to the warrant, "Items to be Seized" as "Evidence of violation of 18 USC Section 842(p)" included but were not limited to a video camera, and video tape depicting Rodney Coronado's speech at the Gay, Lesbian, Transgender Center on August 1<sup>st</sup>, 2003. Also, included was an order for the "Place to be Searched." The warrant was issued on August 26.

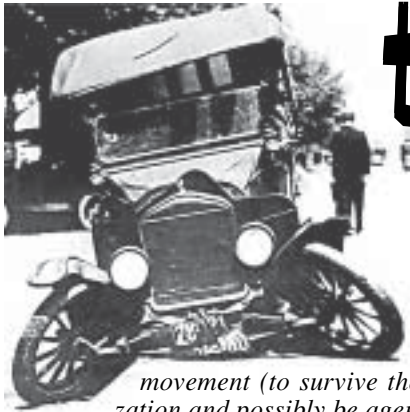
As soon as they entered the home, they began to move furniture and look around the house. The people in the house offered up the video tape in an effort to get the agents to leave. This disgusting violation of the privacy and dignity of these activists continues the pattern of law enforcement harassment and intimidation following the recent ELF attack in La Jolla. They will likely continue to harass other activists in the San Diego community, and will continue their surveillance.

### Young Anarchist Locked Up for Free-Thinking

**SALT LAKE CITY:** On the last day of summer classes, sixteen year-old Alex Asch was removed from the Institute for Social Ecology in Plainfield, Vermont by two transport officers hired by his parents. He was forced to go to Turnabout Stillwater, a juvenile "rehabilitation" program in Utah affiliated with the Mormon Church. He is being held against his will until his 18<sup>th</sup> birthday in June 2004. Alex was officially diagnosed with "Oppositional Defiance Disorder," a fictitious "condition" that includes "symptoms" such as "losing one's temper," "arguing with adults," deliberately annoying people," and (most unforgivable of all) "actively defying or refusing to comply with adult's requests." It has been difficult for Alex to maintain communication with the outside, due to the monitoring of his mail. In a letter smuggled out to a friend, Alex indicated that he had not seen the outside world for more than 50 days and he is trying to ward off the "frightening, miserable emotional state" that this situation has caused. He says he will continue to resist the "psychological fascism" employed to "correct" his behavior and ideas. Sadly, because of his age, he has virtually no "legal" rights, and much of Alex's fate is in his parents' hands. You can try to contact him at: **Alex Asch c/o Turnabout Stillwater, 2738 S. 2000 E., Salt Lake City, Utah 84109.** Questions about Alex can be directed to his friend Darren by sending a message to: **info@everreviledrecords.com**

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“...if our goal is to remain free and build a genuine revolutionary movement (to survive the collapse of civilization and possibly be agents of the chaos that will cause such a collapse)...”  
- “Same Children Playing Revolution in the Park?”  
in *Green Anarchy* #8.

Some green anarchists seem to have an apocalyptic yearning for catastrophe, like Robert DeNiro in *Taxi Driver* rhapsodizing about the rain that is going to come and wash all the scum off the streets. But many of us find it far more desirable to work to get rid of industrial capitalism before some cataclysmic event occurs. We chose to begin with this quote from the pages of *Green Anarchy*, not to single out and criticize a particular statement about anarchism from among the many that have appeared in these pages, but in order to focus upon a tendency within anarchism that is becoming increasingly evident, particularly among some people who identify with the label “green anarchist.” This is the tendency to focus on the complete collapse of civilization, usually seen as a sudden occurrence. This collapse is seen by some anarchists as both desirable and inevitable.

First, we need to ask, is collapse desirable? This is a complicated question, as it immediately begs the corollary question: desirable for whom? Regardless of how this corollary question is answered, it is not clear that a massive, immediate collapse of economic and social structures that was not the result of conscious revolutionary action would be the ideal situation for anyone. It has sometimes been suggested that a substantial human die-off would accompany such a collapse, and that prospect should strike us as horrific. Of course, there are lots of people dying right now, and many of these deaths are, in one way or another, a result of global industrialism, particularly in the Third World. Green anarchists sometimes suggest that Third World peoples would be better off in the event of a sudden collapse than denizens of countries like the United States. This may be true to the extent that their already dismal situation wouldn’t be worsened all that much; those who are already dying off would be joined by perhaps millions of others. However, it is hard to see how the situation would actually improve for many people. Worse still, if such a collapse involved an ecological catastrophe, as it most likely would, nobody would escape its dire consequences. It is true that those relatively few remaining people who are self-sufficiently living off of the land could possibly benefit from the demise of most of the rest of us. A global capitalist economy would no longer be systematically eliminating their land base and driving them to cultural extinction. However, vast numbers of refugees from industrial society would need fertile land to farm, hunt, and forage, and this would perhaps pose an equally deadly threat to any land-based people that have survived global capitalism. Furthermore, a collapse could be an ecological catastrophe, whether its initial causes were ecological or economic. If the projected human die-off is large enough, massive corpse pollution could eliminate most potable water for a time, and other toxic after-effects of industrialism would plague survivors for generations to come.

Of course, disaster may come whether we will it or not. Capitalism certainly is not permanently sustainable. It is wise to prepare as much as we can for such a possibility, and to extricate ourselves from the industrial economy as much as possible. In fact, some of the actual steps we can take in preparation for collapse are in many ways indistinguishable from steps taken to make a smooth transition out of industrialism. There’s nothing wrong with reducing our dependence on the global economy. But anarchists should be trying to do more than store nuts and spread chaos. Neither of these activities is enough if we really want to create a new society.

This brings us to the next question: is collapse inevitable? There is no guarantee that capitalism is heading for a global collapse any time soon. Capitalism has shown an amazing ability to adapt to problems and change its course. Our anarchist practice, however, should be based on our own desires to live in anarchy; therefore, waiting for collapse may mean giving up the very foundation for our anarchism, for collapse may not come during our lifetime. Assertions that this collapse is inevitable are given on faith; the amount of data that needs to be collected, understood, interpreted and understood for such a prediction to be made is prohibitively vast.

# the ideology of collapse

By Chris R., Chris K., and Sasha K.

Capitalism is always attempting to come up with band-aids to fix its self-induced problems. It seems clear that these half-measures will be too little and too slow to prevent enormous ecological devastation and depletion of the world’s flora and fauna, including the millions of humans who are starving to death every year, as well as most of the planet’s living systems. What is not clear is whether capitalist reforms will be too late to maintain human life on the planet, or to maintain capitalism itself. There is no guarantee that a magical occurrence will come and sweep capitalism off the planet during our lifetime. If we don’t get together and rid ourselves of it, we may never see its end.

Indeed, in believing that civilization will collapse on its own, the collapsists take on one of the worst aspects of classical Marxism: a determinist view of history. Most Marxists have argued that capitalism will bring about its own demise—that its history is determined from its beginning. Like wise, collapsists



argue that civilization will collapse on its own. Whereas for Marxists the economy is in the driver’s seat of history, for the collapsists it is usually nature. There are a number of problems with this view. First of all, and most significant, such a view deprives our actions of any importance. The end of capitalism is not set in stone; the final chapter of its history must be written by us. The idea that civilization will collapse on its own implies that we should wait for its collapse, biding our time by learning survival skills. Both versions of determinist history show a profound lack of faith in human agency, in our potential to change the terrible situation into which we have gotten ourselves.

Green anarchists often use natural metaphors which produce a determinist view of history which de-emphasizes the ability of humans to play a positive and active role in ending our present circumstances. Human subjectivity and imagination are often exiled, and conscious revolt is marginalized. Historically, this distrust or sheer fear of human intentions has roots in the conservative reaction to the French Revolution. The conservative Edmund Burke was the first to develop the idea that people’s collective intentions can only bring disaster, and what is needed instead is a slow, natural change. As this tendency passes into the Romantic tradition—an influence on primitivism and collapsism—it takes on an even stronger anti-human and anti-rational color. Collapsism thus takes on the view that human nature (desire itself) is negative and destructive, even anti-natural. Collapsism is thus thoroughly dystopian and follows along with the anti-utopian common opinion of the present; it is the anti-civ tendency cleansed of the Situationist/Surrealist utopian impulses that

helped to inspire anti-civ from the start. These utopian tendencies were formed out of a link between imagination and desire: the imagination of a new world grew out of our own desires and our belief that the realization of these desires only seemed impossible within the clouded common sense of a stifling present. Hence, the Situationist slogan: “Be realistic, demand the impossible!” But the message of many collapsists is very different: don’t trust the desires and utopian dreams of people, they only lead to authoritarian, civilized revolutions; trust nature instead. The future is determined for us and human desire, human imagination and human agency all disappear; they are washed away by a self-defeating fear of all human imagination and human activity. The human must be reduced to animal urges and that is all. Everything else—all that belongs to culture instead of nature, in a simple reversal of

a very civilized dichotomy—will be left out after the collapse.

Trusting nature, would then mean to collapsists, that we don’t have to do anything to get rid of civilization or capitalism, that nature will do it for us. As one recent *Green Anarchy* article states, “Nature itself seems to be conspiring against the empire.” Another article proclaims, “Civilizations collapse, it’s what they do.” These quotes are reassuring to some, but they fail to note that civilization in general has not collapsed; in fact, over time it has only gotten stronger and learned how to build on its weaknesses. One problem with such arguments is that singular “civilizations” are conflated with the general concept of “civilization.” Indeed, civilizations have collapsed, but the dominating institutions of civilized life continue. Since its very beginning over ten thousand years ago, civilization has continued to exist in one form or another. We can talk of the Fall of Rome in terms of the end of a particular instantiation of civilization, but in no sense has civilization itself ever fallen.

In its most extreme forms, collapsism can become downright conservative when the collapsist spends his or her time arguing with all their might against insurrectionary activity. This has become common on the primitivist web boards of the internet. In this respect, collapsism comes to be clearly aligned with the present dominance of liberal-democratic ideology, in which it is possible to believe that the whole environment might collapse very soon, but impossible to see capitalism as something we could choose to end by our own action. It is this very impossibility that illustrates the hegemony of the present system over our thought and specifically over the collapsist ideology. It is this hegemony that removes any desirable future from the realm of the possible and any action taken against capitalism and the state from democratic acceptance. Thus, collapsism’s congruence with liberal-democratic ideology becomes visible in the fact that many collapsists believe that revolution or insurrection is inherently totalitarian or authoritarian. Instead of seeing capitalism’s continued destruction of our world and our lives as authoritarian, some collapsists argue

that we cannot attack such a system without the consent of the majority of the earth’s people or we ourselves will be authoritarian—we must wait for a collapse brought about by the force of nature. This reversal (a shift from seeing capitalism as authoritarian to seeing the attack on it as authoritarian) aligns itself perfectly with the dominant liberal-democratic ideology of the post-sixties world we inhabit.

At this point, it becomes unclear what differentiates collapsist green anarchism from survivalism; all one can really advocate doing is storing food. In fact, if we accept that capitalism is indeed on an inevitable trajectory toward collapse, and if the collapsist’s aim is to allow industrialism to run its determined course and flame out in as destructive a manner as possible, then would not the best tactic be to take capitalism to its own extreme? In other words, those who believe that collapse is the inevitable terminus of civilization’s present trajectory could easily justify spending their time speeding up the process by engaging in an orgy of wasteful consumerism. While this could perhaps be fun, it is hardly the sort of thing to promote in an anarchist publication. However, this sort of political quietism is implied in a statement like this one from the article “Lessons From the Fall of Rome” (*GA* #12): “This is not a warning or plea to change when I say that we face the same dangers as did Rome. I am instead trying to show that there may yet be hope for this awful civilization’s collapse.”

Collapsism seems to suggest that an oil industry executive would do more to bring civilization to an end than would any anarchist. But if survivalism and consumerism follow logically from an ideology of collapse, this should only serve to demonstrate how useless this standpoint actually is. Instead, it seems better to try to bring industrial society as we know it to an end with as little destruction as possible, before it has fulfilled itself in an end that may entail a devastating loss of biological life, if not a total finale to human existence. We all have a lot of work to do if we want to find a way to live together without large-scale violence and ecological destruction.





and simply wishing for a disaster to come and do all of the work for us is delusional and self defeating. One presumably engages in anarchist activity in order to improve the world and one's situation in it, and for most of us this means trying to end capitalism; collapsism, on the other hand, can only ignore capitalism, or aid it in its disgusting rapine of the biosphere.

To be fair, it is pretty clear that the authors of our epigraph do not intend to promote quietism or consumerism when they speak of being the "agents of the chaos" that will cause "the collapse of civilization." *Green Anarchy* consistently promotes insurrectional activity, and collapse-oriented articles represent one of a wide variety of views presented in this publication. The above remarks apply to "collapsism" as an ideology that sees massive collapse as the inevitable result of civilization, not to those who wish to promote an insurrectionary break with the present order. Certainly, this order should be made to collapse in some sense of the word. However, the vision that is found in this journal and elsewhere is too often rigid and ideological, as it sometimes downplays the power each one of us has to achieve a measure of self-determination and to develop liberatory relationships with those around us.

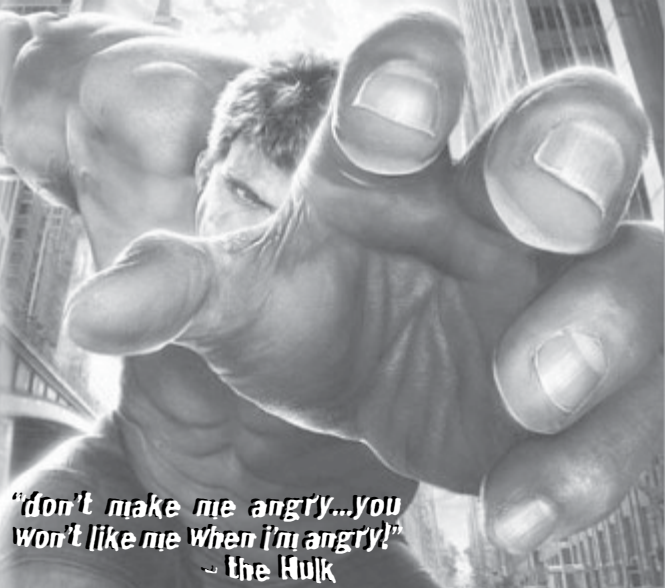
If they have taught us nothing else, the events of September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001 should serve to demonstrate that there is nothing inherently liberatory in a praxis that seeks to increase the level of chaos and destruction in society. Neither storing nuts nor spreading chaos is an adequate response to capitalism. Anarchists should be searching for a way toward a better life for all of us, toward a future built of our desires, not trying to drive us toward the darkest and most terrifying of all possible denouements to the tragedy that is modern civilization.

Send comments to:  
btoh2003@yahoo.com



**GA Note:** We decided to print this article, not because we agree with all of its claims as to what green anarchists (or collapists) promote, assert, or believe, but because it does raise some important criticisms of those who 'wish to wait around for the collapse of civilization' and those who do not think along practical and strategic lines in the dismantling of the global industrial system. Collapsism, however, is but one strain within green anarchism, and this article makes a number of overstatements, simplifications, and generalizations as to what green anarchists, primitivists, and some collapists believe. This is no doubt due to the fact that the authors' primary interaction with these folks tends to be on the internet, which is a very low priority for most anti-civilization anarchists. Many green anarchists rarely use computers, those who do spend little time on internet discussion boards, and the few online dwellers tend to represent some of the most extreme and alienated perspectives. Let's be clear, *Green Anarchy* does not promote collapism as an ideology or practice. We all have differing feelings on how the future will unfold and the extent we may realistically play in its outcome, but all of us on this collective, and most anarcho-primitivists and green anarchists we know, fully realize, endorse, and promote insurrectionary activity aimed at destroying civilization so as to make possible the liberation of desires and activities of all beings, including humans. We hope this may happen by helping to give the economic-industrial system a push before a more disastrous ecological collapse occurs.

Does this mean we will not print articles that may be declared "collapsist" by our intellectual critics? Not if there are some valuable contributions they add to the ongoing anti-civ discussion, because we do not wish to become ideological and rigid, and because we have much to include from the variety of people wishing for an end of this de-humanizing and destructive system. We also feel that there is much to learn, tactically and practically from those who would be labeled "survivalists", such as primitive-skills, re-wilding techniques, and life experience outside of this system. Our struggle consists of not only destroying civilization, but also beginning to live in ways outside of its paradigm. While we are often suspicious of civilized motivations, as anarchists, we feel that human nature is a positive and creative element in the larger web of life, which will hopefully continue to write the ongoing story of this planet.



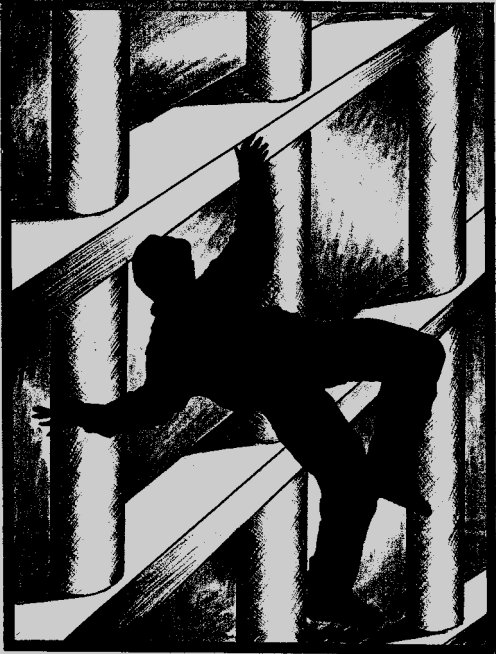
# An Anarchist's Critique of the Break the Chains Conference

by S. Fuggire

The Break the Chains Conference, which was held this past August in Eugene, OR, was overall a meaningful event, yet it did contain some questionable aspects (at least for some anarchists). The 2003 Anarchist Black Cross Network's 2nd Annual Conference took on a larger scope than originally planned, including a public conference focused on prisoner support and prison abolition. Lots of work was put into the organizing and outreach for the event, apparent from the several hundred people in attendance over the weekend and the jam-packed schedule. Break the Chains hoped to "exemplify the need for continued and heightened prisoner support with the ultimate goal being prison abolition." In this regard they were successful. The many powerful speakers included: Chrystos, a native land rights activist and amazing poet; Splitting the Sky, who was an integral part of the Attica Prison uprising and various native struggles, and continues to inspire with his dynamic anti-government orations; Derrick Jensen, an author and activist who offers amazing insight into the interconnectedness of the horrors of civilization; Jesús Sepúlveda, an author and activist who shared his experiences of resistance to the repressive Pinochet regime and the failure of the Left in Chile; as well as many informative workshops on transgender issues, prison healthcare, immigrant repression, the drug war, forced psychiatric "treatment", women in prisons, perspectives on criminology, mandatory minimum sentencing, updates on various struggles and prisoners, and general strategies for prisoner support and abolition.

The most inspiring speaker at the conference was, no doubt, Ward Churchill, with his two hour, explicitly anti-state and anti-reformist rantings. After a historical look at the repression of '60s radicals, he focused primarily on the police state, which is already here, and how the tactics that have been employed against it have not been effective. He ended with a long list of reformist tactics that have been futile, and suggested that the only way to abolish the mechanisms of control was to directly attack the state apparatus and , "Bring this muthafucka down!"

Unfortunately, not all the speakers were as palatable to anarchists. Break the Chains' attempt to broaden the scope outside the often insular anarchist movement was commendable, but what it ended up looking like was sometimes disappointing. Prison affects lots of different people, especially the politicized, the poor, and people of color, so it is important to reach out to, and when possible, work with those who may not share our anarchist beliefs (or may not even be aware they exist). For this reason prison activists need to be more inclusive, but not by putting our politics aside, as was suggested in the "Solidarity" workshop, and often repeated throughout the weekend. Clearly stating our politics is not sectarian. Let me repeat this: CLEARLY STATING OUR POLITICS IS NOT SECTARIAN! If we are to form meaningful and effective connections with non-anarchists (those who may not have a problem with hierarchy, control, reform, the state, etc.) it has to be with an open understanding of where one another is coming from and our differing goals. Like all relationships, they need to be fluid, organic and based on honesty. There are undertakings, and prisoner support projects can surely be one of them, which may be seen as temporary associations of interest, but we should never neglect what we are ultimately fighting for.



This was most disturbing when one looks at the numerous Marxists, and in one case a socialist and Irish nationalist, who were invited to the conference. Do these people have stories of struggle and repression to share? Of course. Should they be placed on a pedestal and beyond criticism? Definitely not. This, however, often appeared to be the case. Folks like Ed Mead and Laura Whitehorn, who headlined the closing night, have taken part in incredible actions against imperialism and have done long stretches of time in prison for those actions, but it is vital that we understand the world they are fighting for. However, some anarchists get accused of "shit-talking" and being "divisive" when they bring these questions up. Mead and Whitehorn are not naïve. They are not fumbling through different political ideologies to figure out who they are. They are long-time (more than 30 years) Communists who have taken up arms, gone to prison, and still fight for these objectives. This should literally set off some red lights for anarchists! They seek a state and the mechanisms of control to maintain it, not to mention global economic systems and all the baggage that comes with them. This was most apparent with Ed, who constantly advocates for authoritative leadership in our communities, supports

the Cuban government, and advocates for the colonization of outer-space. Let us not forget our history, and what Communists have done to seize and maintain power. Anarchists have been betrayed many times by authoritarian leftists, as we should expect, because they are only pursuing their political agenda. How could one be a keynote speaker at a "prison abolition" conference when they have statist politics? Good question, just be careful who you ask. Yes, there are some projects these folks are working on which we could learn from, and possibly contribute our efforts to, but with caution, and not without criticism. The suppression of criticism is the first step towards authoritarianism, and one as anarchists we should not accept. Along these lines, BTC decided to omit a statement by one of Eugene's own political prisoners, Craig "Critter" Marshall for the Conference's main pamphlet. While his statement was sometimes inaccurate, and could have probably reached more people had he not used certain derogatory and offensive language, some of his criticisms of BTC were valid and should have been heard alongside the glowing praise of other prisoners. We must not close our eyes to criticism, pretend it doesn't exist, or do public relations for our organizations. Prisoners already have such a limited and restricted voice, and while it is understandable that some would be offended by, or disagree with, what Critter had to say, it was unfortunate it that it could not be included in the pamphlet. To BTC's credit, they did provide a separate flyer with Critter's statement, which was available at the conference.

Overall, however, the ideas raised, connections made, inspiration obtained, and acknowledgment of work to be done was important. It was unfortunate though, that the Anarchist Black Cross Network Conference held what seemed to be a shadow conference within the larger one. There were many people whose imagination and energy had been sparked that weekend, and many others who currently engage in their own anti-prison/prisoner support work who could have contributed and linked up with the ABCN. Looking back, either the two conferences could have run consecutively, instead of concurrently, so as to get more people involved and to avoid some unintentional, yet perceived, elements of elitism, or they could have been held at completely separate times. If it is to become the constantly growing and effective network it has set out to be, than ABCN needs to become more open and transparent, and avoid becoming the "specialists" who direct prison support work. The question of efficient vs. dissipated, seems more to be one of controlled vs. open, and people's politics usually guide projects in either direction. Again, thanks to those who made the conference happen. Thanks to BTC and ANCN for the ongoing work they do. Hopefully, the prisoner support and prison abolition struggles become a more integral part of the larger fight against this system.

For more info on the Break the Chains Conference, check-out: [www.breakthechains.net](http://www.breakthechains.net)  
For more info on the ABCN, check-out: [anarchistblackcross.org](http://anarchistblackcross.org)  
For a copy of Critter's statement to the conference, contact: BTC or *Green Anarchy*.  
(see page 33 for a piece from the ABCN Statement on the Conference)



# ...letters, feedback, and opinions

*Send us your thoughts, disagreements, or threats. Sorry, we cannot print all of our letters, but we will try to fit in as many as possible, especially if they are thought provoking, controversial, or replying to a recent article. We give priority to prisoners. Please try to keep them under 500 words.*

## Something Good To Say?

**Hi there!**

I hate to say anything nice about primitivism – some people claim I never say anything nice about anybody! But issue #13 of *Green Anarchy* looks quite good-intelligent, eloquent, and funny, too! I'll have to read it in much greater detail so I can find something to complain about!

**Communist greetings!**  
**Kevin Keating in San Francisco**

## Pleasantly Surprised

**Dear GA,**  
Just today I received a copy of your latest issue in my organization's PO Box (ABCF). I never subscribed to your paper and I am puzzled how you got my name. However I was pleasantly surprised, it is some of the best anarchist reading I have come across in years, especially the article on ECON 101 in the back and I pissed my pants reading *Waldorf and Statler*. There can be no doubt, we do not see eye to eye on all the important issues, regardless I found your paper thought provoking which is unfortunately more than I can say about many of the other publications more in tune with my politics.

**Solidarity**  
**Mathias Bolton**  
**North-East ABCF**

## Spare Us deer green anarchy,

I have a moderate amount of liking for your journal, but I feel compelled to comment on no.13. I beg that you spare us further installments of "News from the Balcony" its lack of substance and condescending tone is highly irritating.

**a Reader**

## Sign Me Up

**To Whom It May Concern,**  
I checked out your site (www.greenanarchy.org) and I liked what I saw, so I'd like to subscribe to GA for 5 issues. You guys are doing an awesome job, I'm so sick of all the rebel without a cause zines, they're shit. Your coverage of protests, liberation actions, and political resistance is actually about something. Well done!

**Sincerely,**  
**Jena**

## Free Responds to Question of Violence

**Dear GA,**  
Since Rodney Wade has decided to criticize my words without telling people what I actually said, allow me to paraphrase – I wrote that if we truly wanted to stop oppression, we could, but that the word "Revolution" gets thrown around an awful lot. And I wonder if people really know what that means. Ask any person who grew up in and around gangs about violence and you will hear horror stories. I briefly mentioned the US role in world oppression and how we do not do nearly enough. I also said I was tired of hearing people whine about being beaten by the cops—which I have since apologized for. I said that these people could have fought back by picking up a rock, lighter, or gun.

I've since written Rodney to personally address his concerns. However, since he wants to repeatedly question my experiences in public, I will answer them.

First off, I made no call to violence. I simply stated my support of self-defense. I stand by that.

I grew up in LA too. I've watched friends die. I've been shot at. I've had my home targeted by Nazis. I've had my family threatened. I've been beaten down so bad I didn't know I was lying on the ground flailing my legs trying to run away. I've watched as a knife was held to my friend's throat as he begged for his life and mine.

I've seen the cops beat down my friends to a bloody pulp. I've watched them break arms and legs and threaten wimmin with rape. I have no qualms about using violence as a means to stop this when necessary. Because when faced with an armed unrelenting aggressor, violent self-defense is not only necessary, it is *justified*.

I have used a gun to defend peaceful tree-sitters who were repeatedly attacked by armed loggers intent on harming them. I have gone toe to toe and fist to fist with federal officers to defend my loved ones.

When I speak, my words come from the heart. My words come from the experiences I've had. I'm lucky I have not had the experiences Rodney has. I know this. It is only luck that made the bullets miss and the knife go wide. I've only lost one brother and not my whole family. And I fully agree with Rodney. Violence is hell, and by itself it is not the solution.

However, we must accept that we live in a country built on death and murder. The Government has used deadly force on its own people. As protests become more and more effective, as the state feels threatened, they will again kill. If empire can be stopped through peaceful means I support it. But if empire can only be stopped by the same violence it uses, I will not cower from it.

Each person must make their own decision. I respect and support Rodney's. However, as long as we continue to fight amongst ourselves over whose tactics/ideas are right, *nothing* will change. Do I have the solutions? No, I don't. But I do know that every tool and tactic has its place. Maybe if those tree-sitters could be asked today they'd say they would have rather had the tree they were in be cut down, causing serious injury if not death. Then again, maybe they'd say they were glad I happened to be there with my gun.

**In the spirit of total Resistance,**  
**Jeffrey "Free" Luers**

## Direct Assault On The System

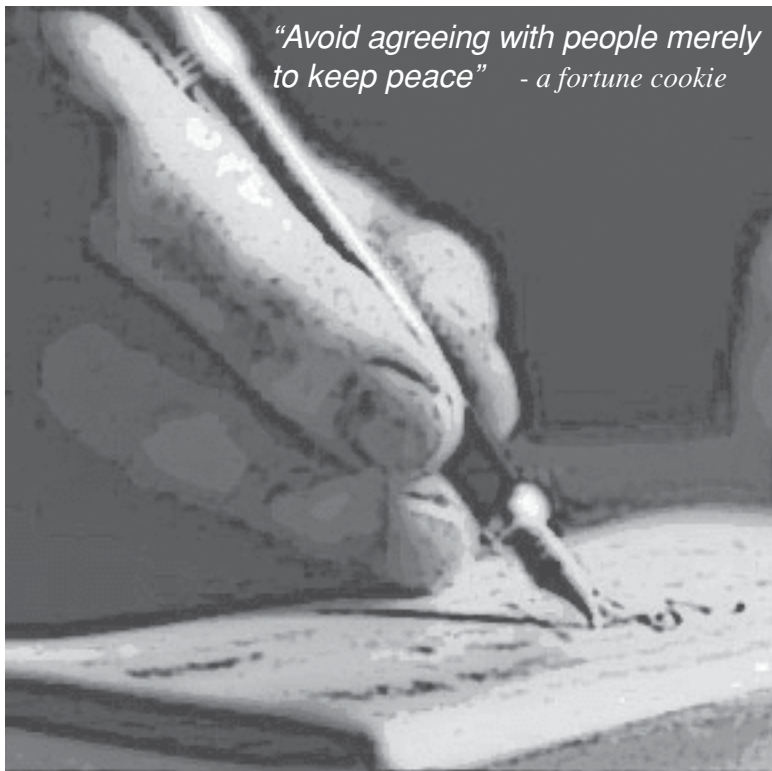
**Hola companeros,**  
I've been reading GA for awhile now and I absolutely love what you guys are doing. Every single issue is a direct assault on this totalizing system of hate and shame that tries to enslave us all. I would like to contribute and I need to know how to submit work to GA? I look forward to your response.

**In solidarity,**  
**Fernando**

## Suicide Is Admitting Defeat

**To Whom It May Concern,**

Contrary to the way it may seem once you have read this, I've not sat down today to intentionally piss people off. That is just a fringe benefit. Too often the only way to make people think is by pissing them off. Unfortunately, this is no less true in radical circles, and believe me, you people need to get pissed off about the sorry state of our communities and our movement, as well as what the bastards in positions of power are doing to the planet we call home.



To start, let me be extremely clear and state the obvious – people are much more effective alive than dead. Dying for your cause is better left to those stupid enough to join the military to fight for "our freedom" by going to foreign countries to kill people who were never a threat to "us" to begin with. One achieves things by living for causes, not by dying for them. Once you are dead, you aren't going to achieve anything else. Having said this, and by doing so hopefully being extremely clear that I do not wish to see anyone fighting for liberation die, I must say that I'm more than a little pissed off at the growing number of people in the past few years who've considered themselves revolutionaries and have killed themselves. I hate to see people turn to suicide as a solution to their sorrows or problems, mainly because these people who choose this solution tend to be the sensitive caring ones... yet the assholes go on living. I wonder sometimes if these people had the ability to see beyond what was immediately troubling them to realize that society, and civilization as a whole, is the root cause of all the unhappiness in the world. Fighting against the injustices of this system is fighting against this unhappiness. It is all of our jobs to remind each other of that, and to be quite honest, we're doing a fucked off piss poor job of it. I realize despite these reminders there will still be those who will not be able to look outside their current situation and will kill themselves (well ok, there are some exceptions to that), but if they're going to off themselves people should die as they (supposedly) lived, fighting.

Killing oneself is accepting defeat, and in doing so deciding to never fight again. Though I must

admit taking one's life does require a certain degree of misguided bravery, it's a chickenshit way out of a battle you've given up on. If we really love the people in our communities, we need to share our dreams of a world worth fighting for, a world worth living to create, but more importantly, we need to actually be doing things which will allow these dream worlds to exist. We also need to be listening to the dreams of others and be helping their dreams come to life.

Jessiah, Tommy, I love you... I just hate that you gave up.

**Ann Elegy**

## Stubborn Stain of Nationalism

**Dear Green Anarchy,**

First of all thank you very much for all the stuff you have already sent me. I try to take advantage of every piece of it. As you may already know, I started editing an eco-anarchist/anti-civilization zine here in Greece. I will send you the next issue.

What follows is not a real article on N17, but some modest remarks. You have to keep in mind that I'm too young (27 years old) to know much about the long history of N17 or ELA.

Yes, it's true that Savas Yiros proposed war against Turks as a solution for the Cyprus problem...I heard it myself on the radio. N17 was a nationalist group. I think that for them being patriotic and having national dignity are good points. Koufodinas, in March, talked specifically about "national dignity"! N17, when acting against US targets, did it for anti-imperialist reasons, but this isn't enough. This is the usual problem with Leftist types of anti-imperialist struggle. Being against the USA doesn't necessarily mean that you are *for* humanity. It may simply mean that you are in favor of more national independence. That was the case with N17.

It's true that because of the war in Iraq, public opinion stopped dealing with the N17 trial. The same can be said for the anarchists. I don't really know why. One anarcho-leftist group which is mainly doing prisoner support work have organized solidarity actions for the N17 and ELA prisoners such as riding motorbikes outside the prison and organizing meetings/lectures.

A Pan-Hellenic monthly anarchist paper called *Paths of Freedom* wrote many favorable articles about N17. Also, you have to know that anarchist groups from time to time make general assemblies at the centre of Athens, at the Polytechnic University. One assembly of anarchists did a good 500 person demonstration outside of Koridalos prison.

N17 seems to be left-wing guerilla group. They have a strong patriotic orientation, too. So it seems that N17 members were cheap populists, third world Trotskyists and, unfortunately, nationalists (patriots). They are for anti-bureaucratic socialism. They have also talked about self management.

ELA was more pro-sabotage than pro-killing and probably quarrels about the killing issue led to its nonexistence years ago. ELA was a more collective group: It's said that it had about 80 core members. They did actions that every affinity group can make, so someone could easily feel close to them.



N17 actions were more alienating for the general public but of course very inspiring at the same time.

Even though, now, the texts/communiques of both N17 and ELA have been published (heavy books, at about 700 pages each), I haven't bought them. N17 seemed to be more pro-vangardism than the ELA. Greek anarchists talk more frequently for ELA.

Only two people (one from each group) have said they are anti-authoritarians. Most of the others don't say anything. Some say that everything is a frame-up (like Yotopoulos, the alleged N17 "leader"). Others say that they helped, but not in a very significant way, others that they were forced to do certain things, others that they regret it. Overall, not a positive outcome for the most famous guerilla group in Greece. I expected *much*, *much* more. Also, some of them didn't live as revolutionaries "should". One, an accused ELA member, was the mayor of a Greek island! Just think of the people who voted for him!! They voted for a "terrorist"! Another lived in a rich district of Athens...

Anyway, what Greek anarchists like about these people is that they acted violently against the System, that they took direct action. At this point, we can see the usual fetishization of violence by anarchists, but it's not only this. N17 and ELA many times did the right thing! And we can't underestimate that.

The Greek left has been ABSOLUTELY absent. One group after another (even Trotskyist ones) declared that they are against "terrorism" and that N17 are criminals...KKE (the Greek communist party) said that behind N17 is the CIA. What else can one expect from the Left except for a lot of bullshit? Leftists have said that N17 was militaristic, hierarchical and alienating to the general public, and that their actions harmed the massive struggles of the workers. Maybe they are right at some point but overall their criticism is ridiculous. For me, as an anarcho-primitivist, N17 and ELA have little importance regarding the fact that they were mainly workerist and didn't criticize modern life. They also talked little about environmental problems and nature in general. Of course, their actions were good, but I would agree with Zerzan's commentary in *Green Anarchy* #11. I will ask a Greek anarchist group to send you a little zine called "A-News" which has action news from Greece. I will also try to contact Nikos Maziotis for an interview, but I can't promise anything yet. Keep up the good work with *Green Anarchy*!

Be Well, Be Strong,  
Thanos



*This is a sample of the negative emotions we sometimes stir-up in people:*

From: George Stamets  
<gstamets@rcn.com>  
To: collective@greenanarchy.org  
zerzan is a fucking moron. this is NOT anarchism!  
...misguided groups that subscribe to this type of "anarchist" thought pervert the movement and prevent the disillusioned masses from having any attraction for our philosophies.

From: Brian Engstrand  
<briengl@attbi.com>  
To: collective@greenanarchy.org  
Subject: You Better Hide  
They are comming after you. The American People will not put up with this! You better crawl into your holes, you worms!!!

THE FALL '03 ISSUE

## Green Nihilism

Esteemed Comrades,

I am very much supportive of your project, and am in agreement with much of your analysis. However, I am far more cynical of humans (at least the domesticated variety) than you seem to be. I salute your optimism that one day we will shed ourselves of civilization and be wild-beings once again, but based on the history of civilized people and the systems of control which run so deep, not to mention how fucked we seem to be right now, I have my doubts. I can't hold six billion hands, or put a gun to their heads! I did not create this mess, and I am not responsible for cleaning it up. I am too damaged by this system, as we all are, to offer a way out or a solution to this problem. It would be pretentious for me to state otherwise. The only thing I feel that is in my power, is to connect with primitive ways of living which might sustain me through very rough times, and to destroy every institution and every remnant of this civilization...then let the earth sort it out!

for the destruction of all  
of this and more!  
the Earth's Will

## If It Ain't Broke...

Dear G.A. Collective,

Loved the latest issue, as usual. But I do have some reservations about changing the mag to a magazine format. I am a Luddite who believes that bigger is not necessarily better. Just like building bigger freeways only creates more traffic—I believe GA is great in a newspaper format — if it ain't broke, keep using it. If the most driving reason for this change is to reach more people, I think more small ads in good mags & zines is appropriate. I am proud that GA is on newsprint and is not glossy or using a "higher quality" paper. Look at Adbusters — how many trees are killed and chemicals used to create something that supposedly subverts the system? Also it is crucial that prisoners, low-income/no-income people are able to afford GA. Fuck people who can pay a lot—where did they get that money? Also you can rely on word of mouth distribution and trying to get others to distribute GA These are some thoughts—also I think trying to expand your reach could implode the paper and/or make it impossible for everyone but the armchair activist to afford GA (crucial). Thanks 4 listening.

Claire Nelson

### Statement from the Break the Chains Conference Eugene, OR | August 8-10, 2003

*"Members of various collectives affiliated with the Anarchist Black Cross Network (ABCN), which formed in July 2002, met at the Break the Chains Conference, August 8-10, 2003 in Eugene, Oregon. The Break the Chains Conference was originally intended to be the ABCN-Network's second annual conference. We consider the Break the Chains Conference a success in terms of bringing folks together and in sharing information about the struggle against prisons. We managed to meet several times throughout the weekend, despite a packed conference and a hectic workshop schedule, to discuss common work and goals. We came up with several goals for the network during our discussion sessions. These fall into five areas: 1.) short-term and political; 2.) common work; 3.) communication; 4.) outreach; 5.) assisting the formation of new ABC collectives.*

*We feel, based on our meetings, that there is a continued interest in carrying on the work that was started at the inaugural ABCN Conference held in 2002. We feel as though collective participation is key to reinvigorating that network. Such an organization is important to achieve the critical mass we need to successfully agitate against incarceration and repression."*

- BTC and ABCN Conference Organizers

*Note: The anarchistblackcross.org website has been revamped. Feedback welcome.*

## News from the Balcony with:



### The hammer hits hard, the sickle cuts deep.

The new form of political organization in vogue appears to be the "virtual" network. It's where you take the fact that most radicals can't stand being in the same room as one another, but love the idea of "form(ing) a collaborative alliance through which we could build new paths and attain new success in our struggle for a better world," throw them together under a banner and call it a political organization. It's the shortcut we have all been waiting for. We might as well admit that the revolution has already happened, we have won, and go back to watching a talkie.

We thus present you with RAAN, the Red Anarchist Action Network, a collaboration that has glued together several "digital" allies into a propaganda machine. Beyond their requisite introductory manifesto where they assure us that they are concerned with everything from the children, the animals, and the womenfolk, RAAN has released some newfangled ideas in their first issue of their publication Praxis. They have named yet another problem that we will have to sort out (before we can get to work on this whole revolution business) called "anarcho-sceneism" (and obviously they haven't been aware of the past 20 years of anarchist commentary on the exact same problem). The difference is that they can tack on the Marxist pedagogy alongside the anarchist rhetoric. "If scenes are the bourgeois social structures that arise as a result of people struggling to come to terms with alienation, then 'Anarcho-sceneism' is the held belief that a revolutionary movement can exist within, or even be based on, any such scene (especially, a 'revolutionary' one)." Which, since RAAN is a scattering of people that only meet through wires, demonstrates that they have found the holy grail of social revolution: don't do it with other people. It is far better to do it outside of a "scene" where there is no problem with alienation or the bourgeois. Can we end alienation by not associating with other people in groups? Apparently so.

RAAN has other insights that develop their brand of 21st Century communism. In defending their (re)use of the term "dictatorship of the proletariat," they call it "an organic consequence of the advancement of the communist tendency" (when was this again?) that "manifests and grows as an unstoppable reaction to real conditions already in existence; in particular the need for any revolution to preserve and defend itself." We are reassured "this does not, however, mean sustained violence. Once achieved, an egalitarian society could by its very existence preserve the proletarian dictatorship, provided that its functions continued to be inherently non-hierarchal." As long as the *dictatorship* was *inherently non-hierarchical* it would protect us—by its very existence—from violence? Isn't that the fox guarding the henhouse?

We will not even get into their logo. It's a circle-A intertwined with a hammer and sickle!

**Boo!!! Hiss!!!**

### "Post-" anything should be used for hitching horses.

On the one hand we appreciate a good show. Fireworks, bright lights, and dancing all make for a hell of an evening. On the other we notice how a certain type of argument devolves so quickly that no one evens notices when we nod off. Arguments about who is the true heir of Bakunin, whether Communism and Marxism are interdependent, or our intellectual heritage all fall under this category.

In the old days we knew that as soon as someone brought up old Mikhail, Emma, or Nestor we could safely miss the entire discussion, as it had all been said. But nowadays we can't make hide nor hair of what the kids are talking about. Case in point would be Saul Newman's recent essay "The Politics of Postanarchism." To wit: "Thus, the theoretical quandary that I attempted to address in *From Bakunin to Lacan*, was that, while we have to assume that there is no essentialist outside to power—no firm ontological or epistemological ground for resistance, beyond the order of power—radical politics nevertheless needs some theoretical dimension outside power, and some notion of radical agency that was not wholly determined by power."

It's obvious that this is enough to put the most strapping of bucks down for the long night, but for what purpose? It's one thing to admire the Continental thinkers, but this whole thing seems like exhuming their stubborn corpses into an undead army in the service of the anti-globalization movement. It looks like Bakunin is being brought into the 21st Century whether he likes it or not.

**Get the hook!**

### Can we say this without being called racist?

There is a bit of controversy around the upcoming Anarchist People of Color ("APOC" for all you acronym fetishists) conference in Detroit. Seems that after a misunderstanding or disagreement between a potential participant and one of the organizers, said would-be attendee made a few cheeky remarks on his private internet page—the modern equivalent of a diary, we're told—about how he was "planning" to call someone named "Eminem" to storm the conference so the two of them could "box" their way out of the event.

Well, one of the persons setting up the conference didn't take too kindly to this sort of adolescent garrulousness and posted a serious warning on the front page of their internet site exclaiming, "Threat issued against APOC conference attendees"—complete with a criticism/self-criticism styled outing of the offending party as "threatening," "alarming," and "dishonest," that his comments were, "derogatory," "misrepresentative," "out-of-context," and "completely false." I guess someone has to squelch dissension, but this seemed truly an out-of-proportion and overly dramatic response from the organizer of the conference...

...of course he is the same person that stated in a recent "on-line" interview in regards to this same conference that, "The anarchist movement is the equivalent to Alabama, 1952, if we're talking a United States of consciousness."

**Fire hoses and police dogs, is it?**

This event has surely not shied away from hyperbole. The APOC network proposal (written by the organizers) calls for "address(ing) our social problems by organizing movements and communities to take on white supremacy and capitalism, which are at the root of these problems. We seek to create alternatives to current order that are democratic, just and promote mutual respect, self-determination, empowerment and liberation." It appears that the new boss might look an awful lot more like the old boss than we had originally hoped.

Back in our day when we had to fight the Reds (and liberals) uphill both ways through three feet of snow, at least they had the decency not to call themselves anarchists, or "anti-authoritarians." How times have changed.

**Get off the stage!**

Note: The views expressed in this ongoing guest column do not necessarily reflect those of the Green Anarchy Collective, but we feel that the entertaining, tongue-and-cheek, quasi-slapstick tone is one method of raising some important questions and can be informative to the anarchist movement. You can email Waldorf and Statler directly at: waldorforstatler@yahoo.com



## Womyn Forest Defenders Announce Occupation of the Straw Devil Timber Sale

**July 2, Oregon:** To friends and foes, comrades and comrades to be, to all who love the earth and all who exploit it: A message from the *Eco-Feminist Front*... Every morning we wake up, the day is ours to create. Today we begin to create through action a world where womyn and all who were socialized as womyn no longer bear the weight of a history of rape on our minds, bodies, earth and livelihood; a history of unheard cries, a history of terror, a history of corsets and clearcuts, manufactured food and breasts, white picket fences and white corporate lies. Today we announce the beginning of an all-womyn's action, occupation and tree-sit in defense of public land sold off to private industry. All-womyn occupied structures have been built to protect Unit 6 of the Straw Devil timber sale where Starfire Lumber (Engel Investors, Inc.) and Basco Logging in conjunction with the U.S. Forest Service will attempt to demolish this endangered ecosystem beginning in mid-July. The Womyn's Action works in conjunction with other defenders of Straw Devil in the Willamette National Forest. Together, this forest will stand for generations of owls, red tree voles, dragonflies, elk, salamanders, bears and more.

In addition to defending the last 2% of native old growth forest that still stands in Oregon, the Womyn's Action is dedicated to building a community that is intolerant of all forms of oppression. We work to build a space of mutual learning and growth – a space where we can conquer not only the demons of capitalism, patriarchy and indifference that surround us but also the demons of oppression, self-loathing and fear that reside within us.

The Womyn's Action is a safe space where womyn can come and gain skills and perspectives; a safe place to clear our heads after a lifetime of being taught not to trust ourselves.

It is our belief that the oppression of womyn and the destruction of the earth come from the same unsustainable need to dominate and control. The same ones who wish to take away our autonomy wish to take away the last of the wild beauty on earth.

We cannot stop the humyns' race toward extinction without taking back our freedom of choice. We cannot as womyn achieve liberation while the earth is still in chains. We need oxygen to survive, we need clean water to survive, we need the forest to survive. We need to be able to walk around alone at night, we need our homes to be free of violence; we need a life where rape, molestation, and assault are not the norm. None of these things will exist without the others. Womyns' struggle and the earth's struggle are the same.

Today should be the last day lived in fear, breathing carcinogenic air and wondering when the next time we will be fondled on a public bus or we'll be held down against our will by someone we love. With your help and support it can be!

We invite womyn of all situations and backgrounds to come to Straw Devil for an hour, a day, a month, a lifetime – and take back what they never had a right to sell.

*We will take our last breath in defense of our bodies, the earth, and each other.*

*In love, solidarity and strength,  
The Womyns Action*

For more information please contact:  
Cascadia Forest Defenders, PO Box 11122;  
Eugene, OR 97440  
541-684-8977  
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Schmesheh ([shh-meh]-sheh) is a new revolutionary organization dedicated to revolution. We see the need for revolution and now we are making that revolution because of that need (which we see).

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Schmesheh is now recruiting angry people who are ready for revolution and aren't about to allow those pesky politics to get in the way. If you are willing to make the ultimate sacrifice to live in a world where Schmeshehists (that's us!) can live free then contact the Central Coordinating Committee Co-Vice-Chair in charge of New Recruits and Moral Purity Secretariat for more information and your implant.

**Schmesheh: We don't know  
what it means either!**

*GA Note: Schmesheh should not be confused with other  
politically vague, pro-violence organizations like arissa.*

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## THE EARTH LIBERATION FRONT 1997-2002,

by Leslie James Pickering (arissa publications)

This new book is a compilation of various essays, articles,  
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Press Office between 1997-2002.

Available for \$15 from Arissa Publications

PO Box 232, South Wales, NY 14139.

## Manufacturing Dissent:

Prison writings of anarchist Rob Los Ricos

Finally, the writings of eco-anarchist Rob Los Ricos in a suitable form. For those unfamiliar with Rob (aka Rob Thaxton), he is serving 7 1/2 years for throwing a rock at a cop during the 1999 anarchist riot in Eugene. He was made as an example by the local D.A., to squelch the growing local anarchist unruliness, and quite possibly also because he is a person of color. This handsome looking zine covers a lot of ground, and is a great introduction to him and his writing.

Available for \$3-5 from RLR Enterprises  
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(well-concealed cash or check/money order with "pay to" left blank)

\* Also included for free is *COMBAT*, a short zine with writings  
by Rob, and fellow prisoner Brian McCarvill.

## DO OR DIE VOLUME 10

If you want find out more about Earth First, direct action and ecological resistance worldwide, the tenth and apparently final *Do or Die* annual is now out!

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**Rebel's Dark Laughter: Writings Of Bruno Filippi** Venomous Butterfly Publications \$3  
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**Security Culture** Free!  
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**Stopping The Industrial Hydra: Revolution Against The Megamachine** George Bradford \$2  
The ecological disasters perpetuated by industrial capitalism are not just isolated incidents that can be prevented through workers' self-management: they are the inevitable consequences of technological civilization.  
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Articles about technology and the class struggle translated from various Greek and Italian anarchist publications.  
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Contains herbal remedies, wild foods and medicines, and some basic primitive skills  
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A great compilation of writings by the members of the ecology-minded anarcho-feminist Canadian urban guerrillas known as the Women's Fire Brigade and Direct Action. (Soon to be updated and expanded upon by the newly-formed *Agitation Press*.)

## NEW!

**The Continuing Appeal of Nationalism** Fredy Perlman \$3  
A concise and critical look at national liberation struggles from an anarchist perspective  
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A look at the inherent racism within Zionism, and the condition of an oppressed people becoming an oppressor.  
**Ten Theses on the Proliferation of Egocrats** Fredy Perlman \$1  
A brief look at the rationality and development of the ego-leader/dictator.  
**Progress and Nuclear Power** Fredy Perlman \$1 (or 25 for \$10)  
This essay traces the systematic colonization of North America, and links it to the same mind-set which perpetuates industry and nuclear power.  
(Get all four Perlman essays from Red and Black Press for \$5)  
**Libres y Salvajes: la diversidad insurreccion** \$2  
A compilation of insurrectionary and green anarchist writings, including Feral Faun, John Moore, Robin Terranova, Willful Disobedience, and Killing King Abakus. Translated into Spanish by Llavor d' Anarquía in Barcelona, Spain.

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## Videos:

**Anarchy In Spain** Rottin' and Johnny Productions \$10  
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**Breaking the Spell: Anarchy, Eugene and the WTO** Pick Axe Productions \$12  
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**U.S. Off The Planet: An Evening With Ward Churchill And Chellis Glendinning** \$12 for Video, \$8 for CD.  
A wonderful documentation of two speeches delivered by Ward and Chellis on June 17th, 2001, for the two year anniversary of the anti-capitalist insurgency in Eugene.

## NEW!

**Surplus** Erik Gandini \$12  
This new collage/commentary takes a hard look at the grotesque nature of civilization and the multifaceted resistance to it. Musically and visually stunning, it tackles weighty themes such as consumption, technology, objectification, domination, ideology, and resistance. This film is an intense hyper-sensory composition of just why civilization has to go!

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"Science, Civilization's Ally!" by Ran Prieur,  
"Patriarchal Conquest and Industrial Civilization" by Brent Taylor, "Beyond Veganism. Beyond the Consumption of Domestication", "Not My Vision of Liberation: Some thoughts on Organization, Federations, and Platformism" by Leaf S. Alone, "Gravity" by Susan Griffin,  
an Interview with Vine Deloria by Derrick Jensen, "Repressed But Not Destroyed: Recent Developments in the N17 Saga", and "An Invitation to Sabotage from Within".

### Issue #12 features:

"Kabul Around the Corner", "Scrolls of Testimony", "Women of the West Bank", "Lessons from the Fall of Rome", an exclusive interview with Reggio Godfrey (film-maker-Koyaanisqatsi, Powaqatsi, and Naqoyqatsi), "Towards an Effective Praxis", "Does Not Compute" by Rustin Train, "Destroy Civilization?", "Reflections on the End of Work", "Scavenging Roadkill" from "Feral Forager: a guide to living off nature's bounty in urban, rural and wilderness areas", and "Collapse" by Kevin Tucker.

### Issue #13 features:

"Youth Liberation: Burn the Schools and Destroy the Media", "The Rising of the Barbarians: A Non-Primitivist Revolt Against Civilization", "Between Analysis and Vision: Moving Beyond the Theory-Practice Dichotomy", "A Quest Among the Bewildered", "Thoughts On The City", "On Sabotage As One of the Fine Arts", "Zero War - Total Liberation", "Decoding the Apocalypse of the Militant Greek Left", "Welcoming the Wapiti", "Green Amazon Economics 101", "The Doctor Is Sick: Schizophrenia, Anti-Psychiatry, and Anarchy", "News from the Balcony with Waldorf and Statler", and the "Manifesto from the Break the Chains Conference".

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Sending large quantities of **Green Anarchy** costs a lot of money and takes time. We ask that people pay the same rates as above but add about 30% more money for postage. We will send packages out as cheap as possible (usually surface) unless specifically requested by you to send it air mail.

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\* Back issues (# 5-13) of **Green Anarchy** are still available for \$3.00 each, or \$25.00 for the complete set.

\* Check-out the updated

**www.greenanarchy.org**

Please contact us about specific rates or if you are interested in trading zines via email or post if you have any questions.

# Odd's and Ends

## Lost Time is Not Found again)

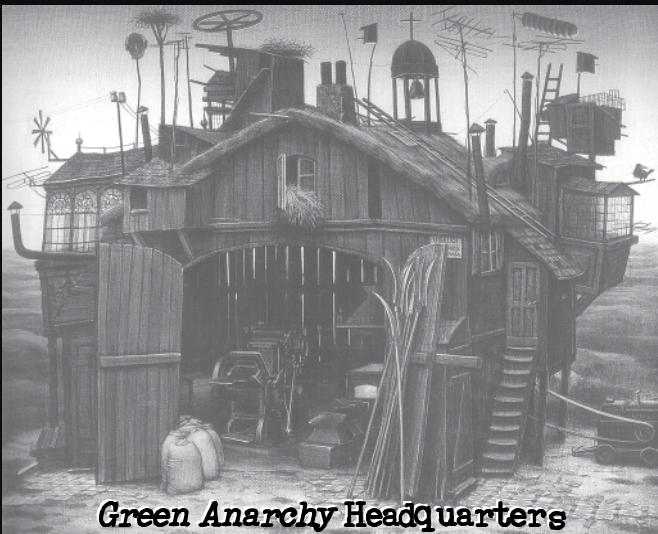
You have now reached the end of our Fall Issue. Much time, energy, and resources have been put into providing you with the most up-to-date information we have on the resistance to the Mega-Machine, and some theoretical discussions and questions raised on how we might push forward. We would like to thank all those who have helped us along in this process, those who contributed material, kicked us down some bread, given us feedback, distributed our paper, signed up for subscriptions, and everyone who helps us on any level to continue on with this project.

As you may have noticed, **Green Anarchy** is not the same 16-page confusion it was when we first took on the project at issue #5. We have tried to be consistent with the quality and regularity (every 3 months) of the paper,

as well as growing its size (36-pages) and distribution (5,500 print run). In order to continue with this, money is needed. So, please consider sending us a donation, becoming a subscriber, or throwing a benefit in your bioregion. We are also tired of all the dudes sending us articles, and are always looking for more contributions from women, particularly eco/anarcha-feminists. Also, we are continually searching for new distributors who can get some money for the paper, so let us know if you are interested. Please pass **GA** on to a friend, or leave in a public place when you are finished reading it. Also, feel free to re-print, translate, or post on the web any portion of this paper.

Thanks Again  
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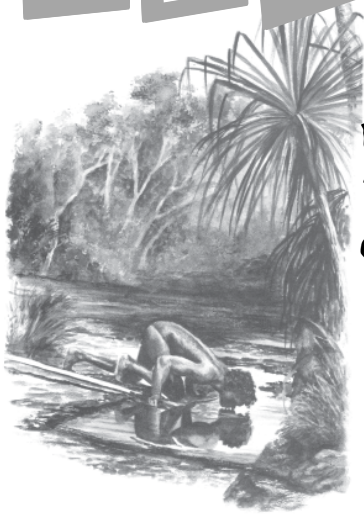
Note: The deadline for contributions to the Winter (#15) Issue is November 27<sup>th</sup> (Ungrateful Taking Day) - Fuck the Pilgrims!



Green Anarchy Headquarters



# WTF COVOLONIZATIONS



***With all that's goin' on in the world, why do these feral fanatics, these rejects of anarchism, these off-the-deep-end ecologists, these granola-munchin' harbingers of chaos need to spend so much time attacking civilization?***

The following communiqué was found at the site of a recently disrupted secret meeting in Dover, Delaware, which was to facilitate a coalition between Chevron, Pepsi-CO, Microsoft, the Sierra Club, the Northern New Jersey Federation of Anarcho-Stalinists, Michael Albert, and the Institute for Social Ecology. This disruption seems to be evidence that insurrectionary green-anarchist and anarcho-primitivist actions and ideas are spreading!

## COMMUNIQUE # 23

WE ARE OFTEN TOLD THAT OUR DREAMS ARE UNREALISTIC, OUR DEMANDS IMPOSSIBLE, THAT WE ARE BASICALLY OUT OF OUR FUCKIN' MINDS TO EVEN PROPOSE SUCH A RIDICULOUS CONCEPT AS THE "DESTRUCTION OF CIVILIZATION." SO, WE HOPE THIS BRIEF STATEMENT MAY SHED SOME LIGHT ON WHY WE WILL SETTLE FOR NOTHING LESS THAN A COMPLETELY DIFFERENT REALITY THAN WHAT IS FORCED UPON US TODAY. WE BELIEVE THAT THE INFINITE POSSIBILITIES OF THE HUMAN EXPERIENCE EXTEND BOTH FORWARDS AND BACKWARDS. WE WISH TO COLLAPSE THE DISCORD BETWEEN THESE REALITIES. WE STRIVE FOR A "FUTURE-PRIMITIVE" REALITY, ONE WHICH ALL OF OUR ANCESTORS ONCE KNEW, AND ONE WE MAY COME TO KNOW: A PRE/POST-TECHNOLOGICAL, PRE/POST-INDUSTRIAL, PRE/POST-COLONIAL, PRE/POST-CAPITALIST, PRE/POST-AGRICULTURAL, AND EVEN PRE/POST-CULTURAL REALITY - WHEN WE WERE ONCE, AND MAY AGAIN BE, WILD!

WE FEEL IT IS NECESSARY TO RAISE SOME FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS AS TO WHERE WE ARE NOW, HOW WE HAVE GOTTEN TO THIS POINT, WHERE WE ARE HEADED, AND PERHAPS MOST IMPORTANTLY, WHERE WE HAVE COME FROM. THIS SHOULD NOT TO BE SEEN AS IRREFUTABLE EVIDENCE, THE ANSWERS, OR PRESCRIPTIONS FOR LIBERATION; BUT INSTEAD, AS THINGS TO CONSIDER WHILE WE FIGHT AGAINST DOMINATION OR ATTEMPT TO CREATE ANOTHER WORLD.

WE BELIEVE ANARCHY TO BE THE ULTIMATE LIBERATORY EXPERIENCE AND OUR NATURAL CONDITION. BEFORE, AND OUTSIDE OF, CIVILIZATION (AND IT'S CORRUPTING INFLUENCES), HUMANS WERE, AND ARE, FOR LACK OF BETTER TERMS, ANARCHISTIC. FOR MOST OF OUR HISTORY WE LIVED IN SMALL-SCALE GROUPINGS WHICH MADE DECISIONS FACE-TO-FACE, WITHOUT THE MEDIATION OF GOVERNMENT, REPRESENTATION, OR EVEN THE MORALITY OF AN ABSTRACT THING CALLED CULTURE. WE COMMUNICATED, PERCEIVED, AND LIVED IN AN UNMEDIATED, INSTINCTUAL, AND DIRECT WAY. WE KNEW WHAT TO EAT, WHAT HEALED US, AND HOW TO SURVIVE. WE WERE PART OF THE WORLD AROUND US. THERE WAS NO ARTIFICIAL SEPARATION BETWEEN THE INDIVIDUAL, THE GROUP, AND THE REST OF LIFE.

IN THE LARGER SCOPE OF HUMAN HISTORY, NOT LONG AGO (SOME SAY 10,000 TO 12,000 YEARS AGO), FOR REASONS WE CAN ONLY SPECULATE ABOUT (BUT NEVER REALLY KNOW), A SHIFT BEGAN TO OCCUR IN A FEW GROUPINGS OF HUMANS. THESE HUMANS BEGAN TO TRUST LESS IN THE EARTH AS A "GIVER OF LIFE", AND BEGAN TO CREATE A DISTINCTION BETWEEN THEMSELVES AND THE EARTH. THIS SEPARATION IS THE FOUNDATION OF CIVILIZATION. IT IS NOT REALLY A PHYSICAL THING, ALTHOUGH CIVILIZATION HAS SOME VERY REAL PHYSICAL MANIFESTATIONS; BUT IT IS MORE OF AN ORIENTATION, A MINDSET, A PARADIGM. IT IS BASED ON THE CONTROL AND DOMINATION OF THE EARTH AND ITS INHABITANTS.

CIVILIZATION'S MAIN MECHANISM OF CONTROL IS DOMESTICATION. IT IS THE CONTROLLING, TAMING, BREEDING, AND MODIFICATION OF LIFE FOR HUMAN BENEFIT (USUALLY FOR THOSE IN POWER OR THOSE STRIVING FOR POWER). THE DOMESTICATION PROCESS BEGAN TO SHIFT HUMANS AWAY FROM A NOMADIC WAY OF LIFE, TOWARDS A MORE SEDENTARY AND SETTLED EXISTENCE, WHICH CREATED POINTS OF POWER (TAKING ON A MUCH DIFFERENT DYNAMIC THAN THE MORE TEMPORAL AND ORGANIC TERRITORIAL GROUND), LATER TO BE CALLED PROPERTY. DOMESTICATION CREATES A TOTALITARIAN RELATIONSHIP WITH PLANTS AND ANIMALS, AND EVENTUALLY, OTHER HUMANS. THIS MINDSET SEES OTHER LIFE, INCLUDING OTHER HUMANS, AS SEPARATE FROM THE DOMESTICATOR, AND IS THE RATIONALIZATION FOR THE SUBJUGATION OF WOMEN, CHILDREN, AND FOR SLAVERY. DOMESTICATION IS A COLONIZING FORCE ON NON-DOMESTICATED LIFE, WHICH HAS BROUGHT US TO THE PATHOLOGICAL MODERN EXPERIENCE OF ULTIMATE CONTROL OF ALL LIFE, INCLUDING ITS GENETIC STRUCTURES.

A MAJOR STEP IN THE CIVILIZING PROCESS IS THE MOVE TOWARDS AN AGRARIAN SOCIETY. AGRICULTURE CREATES A DOMESTICATED LANDSCAPE, A SHIFT FROM THE CONCEPT THAT "THE EARTH WILL PROVIDE" TO "WHAT WE WILL PRODUCE FROM THE EARTH". THE DOMESTICATOR BEGINS TO WORK AGAINST NATURE AND HER CYCLES, AND TO DESTROY THOSE WHO ARE STILL LIVING WITH AND UNDERSTANDING HER. WE CAN SEE THE BEGINNINGS OF PATRIARCHY HERE. WE SEE THE BEGINNINGS OF NOT ONLY THE HOARDING OF LAND, BUT ALSO OF ITS FRUITS. THIS NOTION OF OWNERSHIP OF LAND AND SURPLUS CREATES NEVER-BEFORE EXPERIENCED POWER DYNAMICS, INCLUDING INSTITUTIONALIZED HIERARCHIES AND ORGANIZED WARFARE. WE HAVE MOVED DOWN AN UNSUSTAINABLE AND DISASTROUS ROAD.

OVER THE NEXT THOUSANDS OF YEARS THIS DISEASE PROGRESSES, WITH ITS COLONIZING AND IMPERIALIST MENTALITY EVENTUALLY CONSUMING MOST OF THE PLANET WITH, OF COURSE, THE HELP OF THE RELIGIOUS-PROPAGANDISTS, WHO TRY TO ASSURE THE "MASSES" AND THE "SAVAGES" THAT THIS IS GOOD AND RIGHT. FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE COLONIZER, PEOPLES ARE PITTED AGAINST OTHER PEOPLES. WHEN THE COLONIZER'S WORDS DO NOT SUFFICE, THE SWORD IS NEVER FAR AWAY WITH ITS GENOCIDAL COLLISION. AS THE CLASS DISTINCTIONS BECOME MORE SOLIDIFIED, THERE BECOMES ONLY THOSE WHO HAVE, AND THOSE WHO DO NOT. THE TAKERS AND THE GIVERS. THE RULERS AND THE RULED. THE WALLS GET RAISED. THIS IS HOW WE ARE TOLD IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN; BUT MOST PEOPLE SOMEHOW KNOW THIS ISN'T RIGHT, AND THERE HAVE ALWAYS BEEN THOSE WHO HAVE FOUGHT AGAINST IT.

THE WAR ON WOMEN, THE WAR ON THE POOR, THE WAR ON INDIGENOUS AND LAND-BASED PEOPLE, AND THE WAR ON THE WILD ARE ALL INTERCONNECTED. IN THE EYES OF CIVILIZATION, THEY ARE ALL SEEN AS COMMODITIES - THINGS TO BE CLAIMED, EXTRACTED, AND MANIPULATED FOR POWER AND CONTROL. THEY ARE ALL SEEN AS RESOURCES; AND WHEN THEY ARE OF USE NO LONGER TO THE POWER-STRUCTURE, THEY ARE DISCARDED INTO THE LANDFILLS OF SOCIETY. THE IDEOLOGY OF PATRIARCHY IS ONE OF CONTROL OVER SELF-DETERMINATION AND SUSTAINABILITY, OF REASON OVER INSTINCT AND ANARCHY, AND OF ORDER OVER FREEDOM AND WILDNESS. PATRIARCHY IS AN IMPOSITION OF DEATH, RATHER THAN A CELEBRATION OF LIFE. THESE ARE THE MOTIVATIONS OF PATRIARCHY AND CIVILIZATION; AND FOR THOUSANDS OF YEARS THEY HAVE SHAPED THE HUMAN EXPERIENCE ON EVERY LEVEL, FROM THE INSTITUTIONAL TO THE PERSONAL, WHILE THEY HAVE DEVoured LIFE.

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**The choice is yours.**

THE CIVILIZING PROCESS BECAME MORE REFINED AND EFFICIENT AS TIME WENT ON. CAPITALISM BECAME ITS MODE OF OPERATION, AND THE GAUGE OF THE EXTENT OF DOMINATION AND THE MEASURE OF WHAT STILL IS NEEDED TO BE CONQUERED. THE ENTIRE PLANET WAS MAPPED AND LANDS WERE ENCLOSED. THE NATION-STATE EVENTUALLY BECAME THE PROPOSED SOCIETAL GROUPING, AND IT WAS TO SET FORTH THE VALUES AND GOALS OF VAST NUMBERS OF PEOPLES, OF COURSE, FOR THE BENEFIT OF THOSE IN CONTROL. PROPAGANDA BY THE STATE, AND THE BY NOW, LESS POWERFUL CHURCH, STARTED TO REPLACE SOME (BUT CERTAINLY NOT MOST) OF THE BRUTE FORCE WITH ON-THE-SURFACE BENEVOLENCE AND CONCEPTS LIKE CITIZENRY AND DEMOCRACY. AS THE DAWN OF MODERNITY APPROACHED, THINGS WERE REALLY GETTING SICK.

THROUGHOUT THE DEVELOPMENT OF CIVILIZATION, TECHNOLOGY ALWAYS PLAYED AN EVER-EXPANDING ROLE. IN FACT, CIVILIZATION'S PROGRESS HAS ALWAYS BEEN DIRECTLY CONNECTED TO, AND DETERMINED BY, THE DEVELOPMENT OF EVER MORE COMPLEX, EFFICIENT, AND INNOVATIVE TECHNOLOGIES. IT IS HARD TO TELL WHETHER CIVILIZATION PUSHES TECHNOLOGY, OR VICE-VERSA. TECHNOLOGY, LIKE CIVILIZATION, CAN BE SEEN MORE AS A PROCESS OR COMPLEX SYSTEM THAN AS A PHYSICAL FORM. IT INHERENTLY INVOLVES DIVISION OF LABOR, RESOURCE EXTRACTION, AND EXPLOITATION BY POWER (THOSE WITH THE TECHNOLOGY). THE INTERFACE WITH, AND RESULT OF, TECHNOLOGY IS ALWAYS AN ALIENATED, MEDIATED, AND HEAVILY-LOADED REALITY. NO, TECHNOLOGY IS NOT NEUTRAL. THE VALUES AND GOALS OF THOSE WHO PRODUCE AND CONTROL TECHNOLOGY ARE ALWAYS EMBEDDED WITHIN IT. DIFFERENT FROM SIMPLE TOOLS, TECHNOLOGY IS CONNECTED TO A LARGER

PROCESS WHICH IS INFECTIOUS AND IS PROPELLED FORWARD BY ITS OWN MOMENTUM. THIS TECHNOLOGICAL SYSTEM ALWAYS ADVANCES, AND ALWAYS NEEDS TO BE INVENTING NEW WAYS TO SUPPORT, FUEL, MAINTAIN, AND SELL ITSELF. A KEY PART OF THE MODERN-TECHNO-CAPITALIST STRUCTURE IS INDUSTRIALISM; THE MECHANIZED SYSTEM OF PRODUCTION BUILT ON CENTRALIZED POWER, AND THE EXPLOITATION OF PEOPLE AND NATURE. INDUSTRIALISM CANNOT EXIST WITHOUT GENOCIDE, ECOCIDE, AND IMPERIALISM. TO MAINTAIN IT, COERCION, LAND EVICTIONS, FORCED LABOR, CULTURAL DESTRUCTION, ASSIMILATION, ECOLOGICAL DEVASTATION, AND GLOBAL TRADE ARE ACCEPTED AND SEEN AS NECESSARY. INDUSTRIALISM'S STANDARDIZATION OF LIFE OBJECTIFIES AND COMMODIFIES IT, VIEWING ALL LIFE AS A POTENTIAL RESOURCE. TECHNOLOGY AND INDUSTRIALISM HAVE OPENED THE DOOR TO THE ULTIMATE DOMESTICATION OF LIFE - THE FINAL STAGE OF CIVILIZATION - THE AGE OF NEO-LIFE.

SO NOW WE ARE IN THE POST-MODERN, NEO-LIBERAL, BIO-TECH, CYBER-REALITY, WITH AN APOCALYPTIC FUTURE AND NEW WORLD ORDER. CAN IT REALLY GET MUCH WORSE? OR HAS IT ALWAYS BEEN THIS BAD? WE ARE ALMOST COMPLETELY DOMESTICATED, EXCEPT FOR THE FEW BRIEF MOMENTS (RIOTS, CREEPING THROUGH THE DARK TO DESTROY MACHINERY OR CIVILIZATION'S INFRASTRUCTURE, CONNECTING WITH OTHER SPECIES, SWIMMING NAKED IN A MOUNTAIN STREAM, EATING WILD FOODS, LOVE-MAKING, ...ADD YOUR OWN FAVORITES) WHEN WE CATCH A GLIMPSE OF WHAT IT WOULD BE LIKE TO GO FERAL. THEIR "GLOBAL VILLAGE" IS MORE LIKE A GLOBAL AMUSEMENT PARK OR GLOBAL ZOO, AND IT'S NOT A QUESTION OF BOYCOTTING IT 'CAUSE WE'RE ALL IN IT, AND IT'S IN ALL OF US. AND WE CAN'T JUST BREAK OUT OF OUR OWN CAGES (ALTHOUGH WE'RE HELPLESS UNLESS WE START THERE), BUT WE GOTTA BUST DOWN THE WHOLE FUCKIN' PLACE, FEAST ON THE ZOO KEEPERS AND THOSE WHO RUN AND BENEFIT FROM IT, RECONNECT WITH OUR INSTINCTS, AND BECOME WILD AGAIN! WE CANNOT REFORM CIVILIZATION, GREEN IT UP, OR MAKE IT MORE FAIR. IT IS ROTTEN TO THE CORE. WE DON'T NEED MORE IDEOLOGY, MORALITY, FUNDAMENTALISM, OR BETTER ORGANIZATION TO SAVE US. WE MUST SAVE OURSELVES. WE HAVE TO LIVE ACCORDING TO OUR OWN DESIRES. WE HAVE TO CONNECT WITH OURSELVES, THOSE WE CARE ABOUT, AND THE REST OF LIFE. WE HAVE TO BREAK OUT OF, AND BREAK DOWN, THIS REALITY.

**WE NEED ACTION.**

***To put it simply, civilization is a war on life. We are fighting for our lives, and we declare war on civilization!***



**T.H.U.G.  
(TREE HUGGIN' URBAN GUERRILLAS)**



# The Origins

## Introduction

The success of civilization can be gauged by just how much it has limited our vision and our aspirations. It's nearly impossible for any one of us to really grasp just how much we have lost by our domestication. Our senses have been dulled; we've been trained to not trust our instincts, subjugated to a fully dehumanized, mechanical hierarchy; living in boxes within boxes within boxes. We mow our lawns, we play along, and we spend our entire lives being pushed through the linear future that has been scientifically determined to breed the most 'efficient' consumers. We play along, yet everyone one of us has that urge, that feeling that something is wrong, or there could be something more. For millions of years we have lived in a way that is completely different from this. We always have to remember that when we're looking at 'savages' and 'primitives' we are really looking at wild (or *more* wild as the case may be) versions of ourselves. They are no different from us in any physical or mental sense, other than the fact that *they have not been beaten down*.

In order to understand just how deep civilization's tentacles are, it is necessary for us to begin by looking at its origins. This is essentially the drive of the anarcho-primitivist critique of civilization. It is not so much an attempt to lay out a 'paradise lost' as it is a recognition of the state we have lived for the majority of our existence within the community of life, or 'natural anarchy'. As anarchists, we should be questioning all that systematically denies the ability of self-determination and autonomy. From the anarcho-primitivist and green anarchist 'perspective,' that 'thing' has a name and origins; and like everything else, understanding how it arose gives some indication of how it could be made to fall.

## Who we have been and may be again:

Humans have lived by hunting and gathering for more than 99.9% of our existence. It is believed that this adaptation was developed relatively early in the chain of evolution which was preceded by gathering and scavenging. Our most significant changes into our current form, both physically and mentally, come as gatherer-hunters. This is something that civilization will always have to deal with; however, our instinctual being is always the hardest to conquer.

The current form of mega-technological civilization is only a continuation of the domestication process that has its roots in domestication of plants and animals. It seems that civilization is, at base, a process of continually perfecting an absolute mediation; bring us full force into a synthetic society. From being born into hospitals and shot up with chemicals, to a degrading schooling process, to work and 'retirement,' our lives are set out as one large civilizing project. Every aspect of our wild selves is turned upon itself until we are dulled to our senses, hearing, sight, perception, and *instinct*.

All of this goes against the way that humans have lived as gatherer-hunters. Gatherer-hunter societies are typically free-flowing, egalitarian, without property, self-sufficient, mobile, and flexible, with far less focus on taboo and rigid kinship systems. There are no positions of power and leadership is only circumstantial. The most important aspect to draw from this is that gatherer-hunter societies live freely off of the 'abundance' of the earth. If someone is hungry, they are more than capable of collecting, hunting or fishing for food. Children and the elderly are not seen as burdens, and are not talked down to,

but given the same respect as anyone else in the community. There is no strict specialization of roles or hierarchy of values put on 'work' done. A look into these societies is far from the Hobbesian view of 'primitive' life as "nasty, brutish and short". The implications of this are extremely radical, as the nomadic gatherer-hunter lifeway that has made up the bulk of human history is as close to an anarchist reality to have ever existed.

## So where did things start to go 'wrong'?

Like anything, everyone has their own conception of where things 'went wrong'; looking towards origins is no different. It is important to understand that civilization exists as a totality; 'civilization' itself is abstract, not tangible. It cannot exist on its own; it must be enacted and carried out. This means that civilization is as much a mentality as it is a concrete reality that flows from that. The two are completely tied together, so looking at the critiques of civilization opens up various realms of possibilities.

The emphasis on symbolic thought is an important starting point as it shows the basic tendencies that really opened up the potential for absolute mediation. What is meant by symbolic thought is a movement from direct experience into mediated experience. This comes in the form of language, art, number, etc. Pointing towards symbolic thought at the base of civilization is important as it brings into question the much upheld assumptions among us civilized folk as to what it means to be human. The critique of symbolic thought has in many ways countered the 'Artificial Intelligence' type emphasis on the role of language in humans (Chomsky is the most notorious of this crowd).

Symbolic culture refers to an ideology of symbolic thought, meaning that your entire perception is mediated through some form of symbols. It's beyond just giving things names, but having an entire relationship to the world that comes through the lens of representation. It may seem hard to see how any of this is relevant or applicable, but consider that the 'Spectacle' is our current form of symbolic culture and it becomes a bit easier to see the kind of importance all this plays. Symbolic thought and symbolic culture define our reality and frame our relations, so long as we can only appeal to each other through an emotionless, detached mediation. It becomes nearly impossible to re-emerge as full beings. The critique is vital because it is an indication of just how much civilization has become the 'machine in our heads' and it is a pivotal point for the domestication process.

## What relevant changes took place?

The shift from nomadic gatherer-hunters to semi-sedentary horticulturalists was one of the most significant changes to occur in human history. This movement can be seen as the real physical grounding towards civilization and for three extremely significant reasons: **surplus**, **sedentism**, and **domestication**. Though there is a lot of bleed between nomadic gatherer-hunters and semi-sedentary horticulturalists, a more immediate distinction can be made between those with and without surplus (accumulation of necessities such as food, primarily). While all three may not be present in any one society, it is important to recognize the role that all three play and the effects they have.

**Surplus:** The effects of surplus are strongest and are arguably the most important area to look at as far as an anarchist critique is concerned. In societies prior to surplus, there was no concept of property. The world was essentially a part of oneself and everything was more

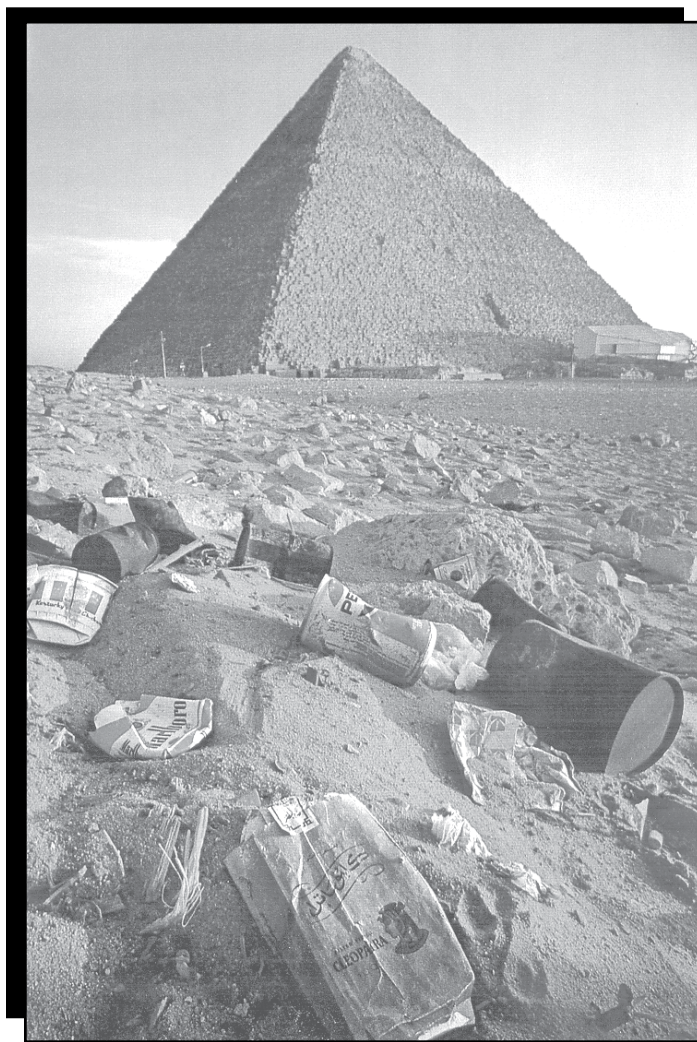
or less 'fair game.' In such a world, there is no need for property, as all are capable of making the same tools and everyone has equal access to 'resources.' Surplus caused a break with all of this.

Surplus applies to the compiling of food (mainly) in some kind of storage as a mainstay of future consumption. Societies where food is stored create a massive break with the immediate gratification known in all other previous societies and for the first time put a barrier between hunger and fulfillment. The creation of surplus also requires a method for distribution of stored goods. As a chasm grows between food procurement and consumption, an equal chasm grows between those who have access to distribution and those who don't. For the first

time in history, there is private property and egalitarianism begins to erode. The kind of radical social changes that occur at this point give reason to believe that surplus and property play an extremely pivotal role in the formation of power and the rise of civilization.

**Sedentism:** Sedentism tends to be closely linked with surplus as it only makes larger and longer storehousing more possible. Sedentism refers to the process of people settling in areas for longer periods of time. Nomadic hunter-gatherers tend to live within one or two regions (depending on the extremities of the seasons) but move around often. Horticulturalists are generally semi-sedentary, meaning they will live in an area between 7-20 years on average.

The problem with sedentism is the tendency to foster a one-way relationship with the bioregion, generally living in an area until it is no longer usable to them. Socially and politically, sedentism only feeds surplus and people begin to hoard not only food but general objects. There begins to develop an increase in materialism and all the social ills that go along with it. Sedentism is generally associated with horticulturalists, but the basic problem can be seen amongst the sedentary gatherer-hunters who lived along the northwest coast of North America who were able to create a huge surplus from a primarily fish derived diet.



*\* (Note on scientism and dates: Any attempt to positively pin-point certain events within the human time span are going to be reliant on rather questionable methods of dating/science. Current debates over how long homo sapien sapiens (people physically like us) have existed go as far as 20,000 to 200,000 years and more. Every so many years, commonly accepted dates get pushed back or forward. For these reasons, it seems less important to lay out the technical findings in this realm, but focus on the content instead. Dates regarding the existence of humans in some stage can go anywhere from 2 to 6 million years. There are currently debates over the validity of sub-species delineation. For our purposes here, what is important is not the strict number of years we have existed as this or that, but how we existed and why things started to change. The purpose of this primer is not so much to focus on the when, but the how and why leading towards the most important and open question: what can be done about this?)*



# of Civilization

***A collaborative effort of the Green Anarchy Collective and the Coalition Against Civilization***

Sedentism is also inextricably linked to population growth. While this is tied to food cultivation as well, it seems that the nomadic lifestyle was also an extremely efficient method of population control. When people began to settle, they began to find ways around the natural restrictions to overpopulation. While the societies where these dynamics originated are far closer to the ecology of life, they must also be recognized as having a lot of the same problems as our society, on a smaller scale. In these societies you start to have overcrowding; fighting becomes a bigger issue, and fatal battles become far more commonplace. Essentially, when people became totally sedentary, they began to step away from a way of life that worked for millions of years and took a huge leap towards our current situation.

***Domestication:*** The domestication of plants and animals (and ultimately ourselves) has caused much debate. There are more theories over the reasons why and when than most other issues addressed here. It serves us little good to try and reiterate and argue those points here; so we will focus primarily on the effects of domestication. However, some accept one or two original points of independent domestication, while others would point towards five or so. The reluctance to accept one or two points of independent domestication seems to be highly linked to the refusal of contemporaries to accept that past civilizations may have had the ability to travel long distances and the technology to cross oceans, which seems to have been the case. The issue is politically motivated, as well as the fact that the notion of many independent domestications feeds the Social Darwinist view of civilization as an inevitable end point that all societies are trying to achieve, which is just the outpouring of linear rationality and justification.

Domestication is widely accepted as originating in the Fertile Crescent area of the Middle East around 13,000 to 10,000 years ago. The introduction of domesticated species (plants prior to animals excluding the self-domesticated dog) was a slow process that was marked by cultivation. This point is widely marked as a significant step away from 'the way things were,' as domestication is a process of complete human domination. It does not come about by merely shitting seeds or encouraging the growth of specific wild plants, but the direct and intentional altering (at the genetic level) of a species for the benefit of humans through breeding. Paul Shepard wisely pointed out that this is the first step towards genetic engineering.

It represents stepping into a completely alien relationship with the earth. Or as it has also been put: a distrust of nature. The earth is no longer the source of life itself, but it becomes a field to control. The spiritualities and religions of domesticated societies begin to create worship of specific representations (soil, rain, seed, sun, etc.), instead of non-reified interaction with the elements of life. This has a profound effect on the relationship of a people to the community of life. It amplifies the effects of surplus in a way that it is not just accumulation of something wild. It is *production*. For the first time people have 'produced' something. From seed to consumable, usable product, it is now theirs; coming from a piece of land that is exclusively theirs, and must be protected. As having placed major significance on property and production, it seems that domestication is itself an authoritarian act upon the world and a major step toward hierarchy.

## ***What are the social implications of this?***

Within the field of anthropology there are five generalized categories of subsistence, which seems relevant to all of this. They are: ***hunter-gatherers, horticulturalists, pastoralists, intensive agriculturalists, and industrial agriculturalists.***

The form of subsistence is directly linked to the kind of socio-political form that society takes on; and, therefore, is important to draw out here.

***Hunter-gatherers*** tend to be anti-political, as decisions are made by consensus and there are no institutions through which legal action can be taken. Problems are solved by direct confrontation and reaction. Subsistence and all livelihoods come from immediate gratification, and while there are gatherer-hunter societies that have sedentism and surplus, they are the exception. Gatherer-hunter societies are marked by a complete lack of specialization and roles such as the shaman are more common and accessible. Typically nomadic and egalitarian, organized at band level and sometimes tribal level.

***Horticulturalists*** are a wide range of people who get anywhere from 20% of their subsistence from cultivated crops to nearly all of it. Horticulture is supplemented by hunting, gathering and fishing. It refers more specifically to cultivation of crops, but domesticated animals figure very prominently for many horticultural societies, especially in the South Pacific. They tend to live in more tropical regions and are semi-sedentary, living in certain areas for extended periods of time and then moving again. Their technology is relatively simple using hoes, slashing and burning areas for cultivation with fallow periods that allow land to revive itself to some degree.

At this point, there is a huge increase in the role of strict taboo and religiosity as well as centralization of religious power of the shaman. What emerges in response to this is a rise in witchcraft, sorcery and general distrust among the people. There is a turn towards urbanization and an institutionalization of certain social roles and a typical movement away from egalitarianism towards patriarchy.

The movement towards patriarchy is strongly linked towards the creation and social centering of property and production. As hunter-gatherers had no real 'property', there was very little to be concerned with, as far as inheritance goes. However, the introduction of land ownership and 'means of production' creates another issue which has generally not been dealt with communistically (all things belonging to the tribe). Private property was the first form of property, and it became very important to have a strongly defined lineage. This

was a major factor in the origin of patriarchy. What starts out primarily as the passing of political status through the male line (even in some matrilineal societies), forms into a solid system of patriarchal control through the inevitable growth of sedentary societies and complexity that arises.

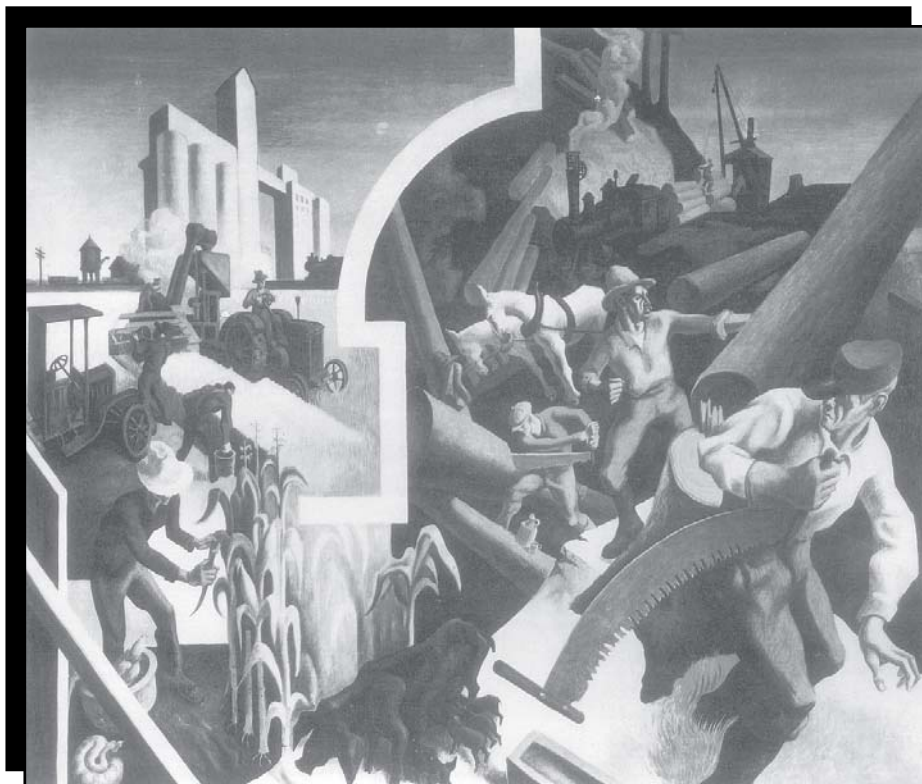
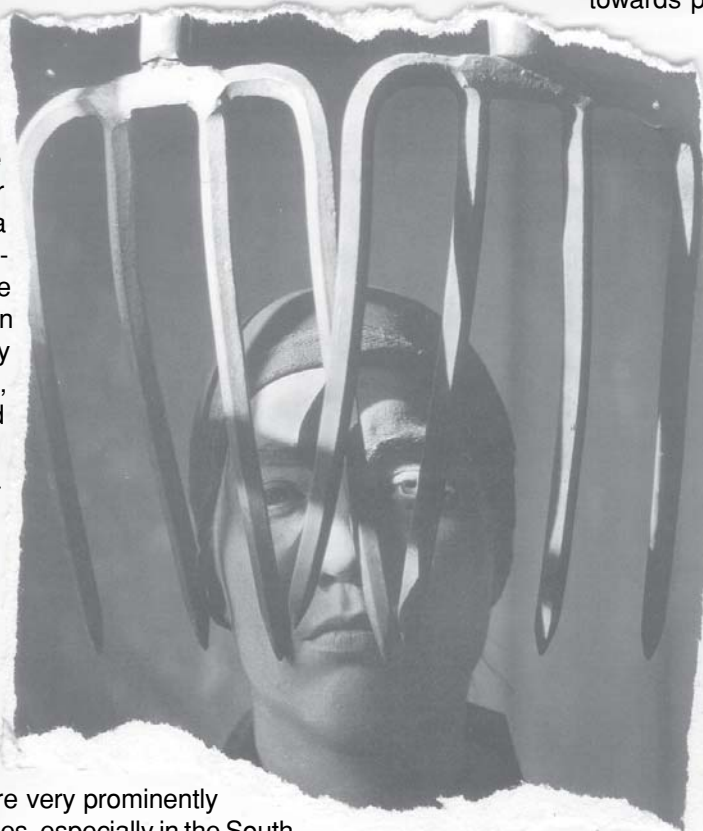
***Pastoralists*** are people who live by and for their domesticated animals. They usually have a few species, but are centered in every aspect around one species. There are ranges in their dependency upon other societies (the Nuer for example were more independent as they practiced horticulture as well), but by and large, pastoralists act almost as a specialization of cultivating societies. Being centered on very specific animal patterns, they migrate seasonally for grazing land. Because of this process, they are in a sense the first real merchant class. They would trade and carry goods from societies on one end of their grazing area to societies on the other, picking and leaving as they moved along.

Their social organization tends to be far more towards the more chiefdom-oriented horticulturalists. They also carry a lot of the baggage of patriarchy as their societies are as inheritance-based (if not more so) than their cultivating counterparts. Like the horticulturalists, however, many maintained some level of anti-state mechanism in their culture and are 'technically anarchistic.'

The level of domination inherent in domestication, however, remains an issue of authority.

***Intensive Agriculturalists*** are a further step into the civilization from horticulturalists. They are technologically defined by the use of fertilizers, ploughs, irrigation, etc. Another big step here is the move from multi-crop fields into mono-cropping. This is the level of civilization where things really start to solidify and many of the great 'barbarian' empires appear now, direct precursors to industrial agriculture.

***Industrial agriculture*** is, as the name implies, agriculture run as any other industry, using larger, more complex machines, and feeding the ultra-stratified society that produces them.



This way of life is split between tribal organization and chiefdoms. The stress on the land is much stronger than that of the gatherer-hunters and although it can sustain life longer than agriculture, it is still plagued by continued growth and the consequences of such. Warfare is one reaction to the removal of a natural population limit inherent to nomadism, and in many horticultural societies it has been accepted as 'the way things are'. Many of these societies are still generally anarchistic as the 'leadership' position (Big Men) has no real power aside from influence. Although many horticultural societies are also 'chiefdoms' which are ranked, hierarchical societies.

What is important here, aside from the issues of surplus, sedentism, and domestication, are issues such as specialization which begins to arise as people become less involved with direct subsistence.



# Conclusions?

What we can see when looking at this kind of 'pattern' of 'development' is the move from open, egalitarian societies to closed societies tending towards absolute hierarchy. The first step towards our current reality is the idea of property, which emerges at a fairly recent time and has always been met with resistance. Aside from the inherently authoritarian nature of domestication, a few further social aspects are of interest: the rise of warfare, the development of technology, the creation of cities and empires, and the collapse of these civilizations.

As mentioned earlier, warfare was one possible means of keeping populations in check after sedentism took a step away from the 'natural birth control' inherent in a nomadic lifestyle. It not only became ritualized among many horticultural societies, but it became one of the strongholds of the state. The earliest empires were noted for the superior armies that were the product of ultra-specialization. A state can function only as long as it has its necessities taken care of. Cultivation is an ecologically taxing process and growing populations need more food. Armies defend and protect this expansion.

When you look at the population numbers, the rise coincides directly with the level of empire present. In this respect, warfare, conquest and colonization become the health of the state. As the professional armies develop, so does their bloodlust until it's no longer just an issue of needing land, but also having sworn enemies and the need to wipe out 'potential threats.' This applies as much today as it did 500, 2,000, 3,000, 5,000 years ago. The more complex the society becomes, the more complex its technology becomes and the more 'efficient' its killing capacity, until armies are so large that huge numbers can be systematically wiped out, ultimately, by the push of a button.

This same pattern arises with the move from tools to technology. A tool is simple; and humans, much like most animals, have nearly always used them. A tool can be made on site by a single person relatively easily (after the skill has been picked up at least) and the end product is usually not a burden to remake. Technology arises with sedentism in particular as people can spend more time and collect more objects to make more time-invasive things. Technology is a system, it requires other technology to continually be produced and it requires the technological mentality of a society to continually produce it. Far from being neutral or labor-saving, it has only increased the destructiveness of society and fostered the problems inherent in property.

As has been alluded to previously, the rise in population, with an increased spatial focus and complexity, builds cities. Cities are a very recent occurrence and completely define what civilization is. They are a concrete hierarchy and everything in them, from structure to raw materials speaks eloquently of those who build and maintain them. Cities are the product of specialization and cannot exist without creating an institutionalized division of labor which requires people to do certain tasks, whether they like it or not (as we all can relate). They are an imposition not only upon the earth, but upon those who live within and outside of them. The delusion of 'green cities' is possible only so long as the ecological and war-related costs are ignored (on top of the psychological and physical costs of those who live within the city and its counterpart, the country).

It seems appropriate to conclude a brief look into the origins of civilization with a look at its seemingly inevitable fate: collapse. Domestication seems to lay the seeds for a history of perpetual collapse. It happened in Rome, Mesopotamia (the cradle of civilization), Egypt, Mesoamerica, the South-Western United States, the Ohio Valley and so on. Every single empire grows and grows till it becomes physically dependent upon others for its survival. The agriculture which lays the groundwork for the growth of empire degrades the land until necessities can only be met through vast networks of trade, taxation, and theft, and such an empire can only last so long.

Never before has this planet seen an empire as large as the current American Empire, which is already in massive debt and taking a final stand to hold its power. Our current civilization has become truly a global civilization and all of the tentacles of civilization are linking up as one. Civilization, in its entirety, is now dependent upon global, industrial society which is systematically destroying the land, air, water, and life on this planet. Much as we have 'progressed,' we often forget that we are still dependent upon the earth for survival, collectively and individually, a lesson that may be recalled as we meet with social unrest and ecological limits.

What can be learned from all of this is not only that there is another way of life that exists that our bodies have yearned for, but that we can find ways to resist and ways to bring about the world that we want to live in. This should not be a conclusion but a springboard for more searching in every way possible. Nothing lasts forever and civilization has only been (and will only have been) a drop on the human timeline. Civilizations rise and fall, but 'Civilization' has continued on. The point is to help erase 'Civilization' itself. We can look to its origins to see how it has developed, and combine this knowledge with our dreams to destroy 'Civilization' once and for all. **Another world has existed, and another world is possible!**

## Afterward: A Future Primitive?

Originary considerations have to do with how human life used to be, with who we have been and, in some fashion, may be again. Such investigations give us things to look at, to reflect upon; nor as a source of an ideology to impose, not some 'How It Must Be' dogma. In this unprecedented and fearful time, the question of practice is open. In fact, maybe one thing many can agree on is that something new is needed. It seems to us that examining the beginnings of this ongoing disaster is a worthy exercise. **Do we not need all the help we can get?**

*For the Destruction of Civilization and the Reconnection to Life!*

**The Green Anarchy Collective**  
and  
**The Coalition Against Civilization**

BACK TO BASICS volume #1

# Some Suggested Readings:

*Although there are not enough overly-accessible books in print on the subject of origins, most of these texts provide a good background to what has been discussed in this paper, as well as additional information and thoughts on the problematic social grouping known as civilization. Most are rather easy to get through and in print:*

- **Elements of Refusal, Future Primitive, Against Civilization**, and **Running on Emptiness**, all by John Zerzan; various publishers (contact GA)
- **Against His-story, Against Leviathan!**, by Fredy Perlman; Detroit: Black and Red, 1983
- **Societies Against the State**, by Clastres, Pierre; New York: Zone, 1987.
- **Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies**, by Jared Diamond; New York: Norton, 1997.
- **Woman and Nature: The Roaring Inside Her**, by Susan Griffin; San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1978.
- **In Search of the Primitive**, by Stanley Diamond; New Brunswick: Transaction, 1987.
- **My Name is Chellis and I'm in Recovery from Western Civilization**, by Chellis Glendinning, Boston: Shambhala, 1994.
- **Man the Hunter**, edited by Richard B. Lee & Irven DeVore; Chicago: Aldine, 1968.
- **Myth of the Machine: Pentagon of Power**, by Lewis Mumford; New York: Harcourt, 1970.
- **Myth of the Machine: Technics and Human Development**, New York: Harcourt, 1967.
- **Green History of the World: The Environment and the Collapse of Great Civilizations**, by Clive Ponting; New York: Penguin, 1991.
- **Stone Age Economics**, by Marshall Sahlins; Chicago: Aldine, 1972.
- **Coming Home to the Pleistocene**, by Paul Shepard; Washington DC: Island, 1998.

Check-out:

[www.blackandgreen.org/biblio.html](http://www.blackandgreen.org/biblio.html)  
for some more suggested readings.



**“We inhabit the  
factory and the  
factory inhabits  
us. The clothes we  
wear, the food we  
eat, the buildings  
in which we live,  
work and die, the  
books we read, the  
media we ingest,  
the ideas we  
think—are all  
factory produced.  
And yet chaos is  
everywhere. Even  
as I walk through  
the barren waste  
of the shopping  
centre, I look up  
and see the sun  
boiling, the clouds  
scudding by, a  
flock of birds  
veering across the  
sky—and I feel  
the exquisite  
pulses, flows and  
currents that flow  
through my body.”  
- John Moore**

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## Black and Green Network

[www.blackandgreen.org](http://www.blackandgreen.org)

## Green Anarchist

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WC1N 3XX, UK  
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The ORIGINS of CIVILIZATION